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The Three Crucial Issues of the Peace

I. Internationalism

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The first of three articles on peace

IT is now nearly three years since the Second World War was brought to a supposedly successful conclusion, yet we are far from having achieved a durable peace. It is too painfully apparent that at the present moment there are serious international tensions that may lead to another holocaust in the not very distant future. These tensions are not primarily the result of post-war developments. They are rather a fresh manifestation of basic forces which have been at work for many decades—forces which were the fundamental cause of the last war, and which will cause the next one if we do not overcome them.

Contrary to popular opinion, the war was not due to the evil machinations of Hitler, Mussolini, and the so-called "war lords" of Japan. These men and their parties were responsible for many crimes, and they gave to the war a savage and ruthless character that under other leadership it might not have assumed. They deserved the opprobrium and punishment that were heaped upon them. Nevertheless, in a broad view of the situation, they must be looked upon as mere incidents in a long process of social causation. It is the same with Stalin, Molotov, and the other Soviet Communists today. They are dangerous and wicked men, to be sure, but they are merely actors on the stage of history, playing parts that have been cast for them by the playwright of evolution.

None of these desperate characters could ever have embarked upon his mad career of conquest and destruction if the underlying conditions had not been favorable for such developments. It is, therefore, in these conditions that the true causes of the war, and the real issues of the peace, are to be found.

An outbreak of warfare is much like an earthquake. Deep down in the earth are tremendous forces, tending to alter the shape of the surface above them. If that surface were elastic and flexible, it would accommodate itself gradually to these pressures by appropriate changes in its geography. A mountain would subside here, a new one would arise there; rivers would change their courses; coastlines would be reformed. But the crust is so rigid that it stubbornly resists the internal forces, holding them back until they gather terrific power. Finally they burst through, tearing the surface asunder with a violence that destroys everything in their path. Human society is very similar. It has assumed a structure of political states, economic arrangements, and social institutions that are fixed and unyielding because of their long establishment;

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but down underneath are the mighty forces of social evolution, pressing for change. If the institutional structure accommodates itself to these pressures by appropriate changes in its forms, there is a process of gradual, orderly progress; but if it resists the pressures, they are held back until they grow too strong to be confined. Then there is a social earthquake in which the old institutions are demolished. If the pressures are widespread and of great power, and if the threatened institutions are unusually tenacious, this upheaval may take the form of a great revolution or a war.

The Second World War was the result of three such pressures. These were: the growth of internationalism, the rise of collectivism, and the widening spread of democracy. The crucial issues of the war centered in these three things, and the making of a durable peace depends upon a proper adaptation of the world's social structure to them. Hence it is of the utmost importance that they be recognized, and our institutions adapted to them. The present article will deal with the first of these—the issue of internationalism. The other two issues will be discussed in the second and third articles of this series.

INTERNATIONALISM

It is a commonplace fact that the economic relationships of the modern world are international in their scope. They have become so because of the obvious advantages that are derived from world trade. Just as it pays each individual to specialize in one occupation or product, rather than to be a Jack-of-all-trades, so it pays the people of states and nations to specialize in those products for which their resources are best adapted, trading their surplus of these goods for the specialized products of other nations. The result is a higher standard of living for all peoples. So important are the gains from such trade that it has continued to expand, in spite of tariff barriers, wars, and other obstacles and interruptions, until the world's economy has become, in large part, an international one. The various nations, instead of constituting separate entities, are becoming parts of a single world-wide unit.

It is characteristic of such an economy that it makes the various countries which participate in it vitally dependent on each other. When a large part of the industry of each nation is founded on the expectation of selling its products abroad, that nation is threatened by business depression if its neighbors will no longer buy from it. When a manufacturing country like Great Britain depends on outside agricultural nations for its raw materials and foodstuffs, its factories will be idle and its people will starve if its imports are cut off. Hence each country is peculiarly sensitive to the economic policies of other countries. None of them can prosper unless all are willing to cooperate in a program of relatively free and uninterrupted commerce. This creates a strong pressure toward economic internationalism. It is one of the great pressures that is shaping the course of the world's evolution. It is reinforced by the cosmopolitan influences of migration, travel, wide dissemination of knowledge, quick news transmission, and radio broadcasting—all of which tend to bind the nations of the earth closer together.

Unfortunately, this pressure toward internationalism finds itself blocked by the political institution of the sovereign state. This is an institution deeply rooted in the traditions and emotions of its people, strengthened by ties of common language and culture, and vitalized by feelings of patriotism, independence, and racial pride. All these things are clung to tenaciously. They are instinctively opposed to ideas of international unity which (rightly or wrongly) are thought to threaten their supremacy; and they tend to promote restrictions on commerce that are erroneously thought to be favorable to the development of national greatness and prosperity. So, tariffs are erected against imported goods, colonies are persuaded to discriminate in favor of the mother country against the business interests of other nations, foreign investors are prohibited from "taking profits out of the country," and monetary policies and exchange controls are adopted which hamper the trade of other nations. The latter, in retaliation, resort to similar devices, with the result that the movement of goods is obstructed in every direction. The mutual benefits of widespread international trade are sacrificed, and the nations which are most dependent upon it are threatened with depression and reduced standards of living. All this generates friction and

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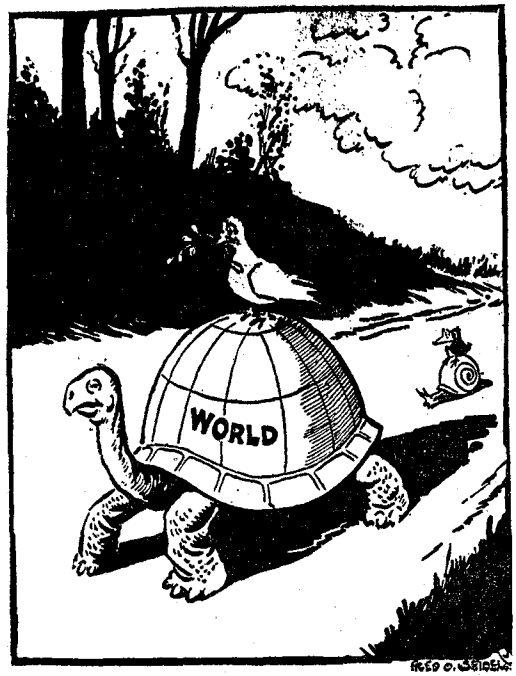
hostility in the world, and so paves the way for war.

It is one of the tragedies of the Treaty of Versailles that it aggravated, instead of mitigating, these frictions. Instead of fusing the peoples of unhappily divided Europe into a greater measure of unity, it divided them further, by carving a number of new small nations out of the pre-war empires. The new states, each with its aspirations for independence and greatness, were launched in a world whose trade was already disrupted by war and unbalanced by the obligation to make enormous payments for war debts and reparations, not to mention the difficulty of converting industry from the waging of war back to the pursuits of peace. It is no wonder that, in the chaos that followed, each nation, both great and small, sought to quarantine itself against the spreading disease of economic depression by isolating its economic life from that of its neighbors. The result was a panic of tariffs, embargoes, exchange controls, currency depreciations, and other trade barriers that reduced world commerce to a fraction of its former level. Each nation suffered—and blamed the others for its suffering. The people in some parts of Europe were made desperate, and in a mood to take drastic measures.

THE AXIS

It was at this stage that Mussolini and Hitler appeared upon the scene. They offered as a remedy, not a program of international cooperation, but one of imperialism. At first glance, this looks like an escape from the dilemma of nationalism versus internationalism. It is a middle ground between a world divided chaotically into many small nations and a colossal world state, in which each nation would lose its cherished independence. Let the world be partitioned into a few large empires, each with sufficient variety of colonies to be economically self-sufficient. There could then be enough trade within each empire, between its various parts, to secure the benefits of interregional commerce, without interference from the trade policies of other states. The parent country could find in the colonies a market for its manufactured goods and an outlet for its investments, while the colonies would derive from the parent the benefits of funds to develop their resources, manufactured goods for their consumption, and a market for their surplus of foodstuffs and raw materials. To these economic advantages would be added the glory of possessing great power and participating in a great adventure. So, Mussolini promised his people to restore the grandeur of the ancient Roman empire, and Hitler, with even bolder ambitions, dreamed of a vast Euro-African domain to be ruled by the German super-race. Similarly, the Japanese expected to rule over the far-flung rich territories of Asia and Australia.



Fred O. Seibel in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*
ON THE ROAD BACK TO PEACE

Although the war shattered these dreams of the Nazis, Fascists, and Japanese, it did not dispose of imperialism; for now the Communists are embarked upon a similar program of expansion. They do not rely so much upon conquest from without as upon instigating revolution from within; but it comes down to the same thing in the end. It is essentially a plan to solve the problem of conflicting nationalisms by putting each country into the hands of a Communist Party which will owe allegiance to Moscow. It seeks to achieve peace by bringing the rest of the world into a Communistic global empire, with Russia at its head.

But a program of imperialistic expansion is

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no remedy for the problem of international relations. It does not constitute a sufficient adaptation of our political institutions to the pressure of internationalism; for an empire is only a kind of exaggerated national state that duplicates on a larger scale all of the faults of nationalism. In the first place, it can be achieved only through a series of aggressions by the empire-building state against other states; and the latter will not accept this without resistance. Therefore, it leads to war as the recent conflict convincingly demonstrates. In the second place, it is extremely unlikely to lead to complete economic independence. Even the far-flung British empire at the height of its power was far from self-sufficient; and Britain's trade with her colonies was never as great as her trade with the outside world. Finally, no association of nations that rests for its cohesion on the domination of subject peoples by a master state is likely to prove permanent. Witness the way in which the British empire is breaking up in our own times, and the weakening grip of the Dutch on Indonesia. If these empires survive, it will be as free associations of equal nations, in mutual agreement on a policy of willing collaboration—not as colonial domains subservient to a great ruling power. The leaders of the Soviet Union have not yet learned this lesson; but they too must find out, sooner or later, that world unity and peace cannot be attained by the political strategy of revolutionary plots and the subjection of foreign states to a Moscow dominated Communist Party. Such an empire offers no better prospect of permanent success than any other.

There is, then, a clear-cut issue in the contemporary world between nationalism, imperialism, and internationalism. The pressure of evolutionary forces is working inexorably toward the last of these, and it is only by adapting our institutions to this pressure that future conflicts can be avoided. This does not mean that each nation must surrender its national identity, its language, culture and traditions, or control over its internal policies. But it does mean that the various countries of the earth must enter into some kind of voluntary association through which policies of mutual collaboration on problems of trade, investment, money, health, migration, military establishments and the like can be agreed upon peaceably and in fairness to all. Each state must be willing to give up to a representative international body that *part* of its sovereignty that deals with these things, to the end that henceforward none may wantonly take against other nations restrictive measures that endanger the peace of the world.

The United Nations, as at present constituted, falls considerably short of what is needed. In it the Big Five have entirely too dominant a position, and they have not surrendered a particle of their sovereignty. So, the peace of the world is made to depend chiefly on the maintenance of harmonious agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. This is a flimsy foundation, for there is a conflict of ideas and political ambitions between them that has already given rise to dangerous friction. Economic unity is still blocked by nationalism on the part of the United States, a weakening (but not yet dead) imperialism on the part of Great Britain, and an expanding nationalism that verges on imperialism in the case of the Soviet Union—not to mention the determination of Belgium, France, and Holland to hold onto their empires, and the nationalistic aspirations and policies of many smaller states all over the world.

THE UNITED NATIONS

For this situation the United States is as much to blame as any of the others. Protected up to now by our geographic isolation, more independent economically than any other country, amazingly prosperous in that independence, we have been slower than European countries to recognize that we are now living in "one world." So, although for the moment we appear to be showing a spirit of reasonable cooperation with other nations, and the Soviet Union is the intransigent obstructor of agreement, it is not impossible that these roles might be reversed if we happened to find ourselves in the minority. It is doubtful, indeed, whether our Senate would ratify our membership in any world organization in which we would be bound to accept the will of the majority in matters where we felt that our vital interests were at stake. We, and most of the world, are still very much in the frame of

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mind that pervaded the Southern states in the events preceding our Civil War. We would probably rather fight than give up our national "rights" on a really crucial issue. Yet that is precisely what all the nations must do, if peace is really to be attained.

Perhaps it is too much to expect to accomplish this all at once, yet the present situation is so fraught with peril that there is need for haste. Given a few decades of peace, we might hope that a more constructive attitude of co-operation might grow out of the various agencies that have been created, in and out of the United Nations, for collaboration on specific world problems. In the International Labor Office, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and the like, we see genuine internationalism in embryo. As the countries of the world learn to work together more closely in bodies of this kind, the broader, more inclusive political organization that is essential to the maintenance of lasting peace might eventually emerge. But there may not be time for such a process of evolution. Before it is accomplished, another world war may break out that could destroy our civilization and set back human progress for hundreds of years.

In view of this threat, we must ask whether there is not some way to hasten the evolution toward internationalism by peaceful means. I am inclined to think that there is. It can hardly be accomplished through the United Nations. That body has so clearly revealed its impotence and is now so thoroughly discredited that it had better be abandoned. For the time being, also, we must probably work without the collaboration of the Soviet Union and its satellites. The differences in ideologies and political institutions between the communistic states and the western democracies are so great that genuine co-operation between them is not yet possible. The democracies, however, have enough in common to make a good beginning toward an international federation, along the lines suggested by Clarence Streit in his "Union Now" proposal. The difficulties would not be much greater than those which confronted the 13 American colonies when the United States was created as a nation, and the solution to those difficulties could propably be worked out on a similar principle of federalism. The union so established would have a combined strength sufficient to discourage any attack from without while it was developed within. Beginning as a limited federation of states, it would gradually evolve into a strong world organization. By a wise program of resources development, mutual trade, financial co-operation, and cultural interchange, it could raise its peoples to a level that would be a convincing demonstration of the possibilities of internationalism to the rest of the world.

This union would fail of its mission if it were primarily a defensive alliance against the Soviet Union or other states not included in its membership; but it would eventually succeed in encompassing a world-wide unity if it evinced a friendly spirit of cooperation toward outside countries, and if it stood ready to admit into its membership all nations that were willing to accept its standards.

A federation of nations will be a means of bringing human society into conformity with one of the great forces that is shaping the world's progress. It will adapt the political institutions of the sovereign state and the empire to the pressure of internationalism. But there are two other great pressures to which an adaptation must be made if we are to advance by evolution, instead of by war and revolution. We must adjust our institutions to the forces of collectivism and democracy. The nature of these forces, and of the adjustments which must be made to them, will be developed in the two subsequent articles of this series.

Scores of famous persons in history could not write legibly. Some of Shakespeare's work has never been deciphered. Several of Hawthorne's manuscripts remain unpublished today because no one has been able to read them. And Napoleon's letters were almost in a class by themselves, some of them being mistaken for maps of battlefields.

Quote

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A historic change in policy

The A. F. L. And Politics

By MARK STARR
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ONCE, in the British House of Commons, Benjamin Disraeli was forced, as Prime Minister, to announce a change of policy. He began his speech by declaring that "A wise man *seldom* changes his mind." His opponents applauded sarcastically the anticipated acknowledgement of his previous error but were quickly silenced when, after a significant pause, Disraeli added, "But a fool, *never!*"

The American Federation of Labor is politically in the process of changing its mind. Different circumstances have altered the attitude of the A.F.L., for example, towards government intervention in industrial relations. The A.F.L. is also coming to take a different view of the state as an agency for social betterment and consequently of the participation of unions in political activity, both to protect their own legal status and to obtain improvements for the workers, such as minimum wages and social security.

There was a time, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, when the A.F.L. officially expressed a great distrust for any reliance upon government on the part of labor. For example, although the A.F.L. supported early legislation to make Saturday afternoon a holiday, yet in 1914, giving evidence before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Mr. Gompers declared:

> The A.F.L. encourages the practice of its various affiliated organizations in endeavoring to secure a shorter workday by means of collective agreements with employers in the various industries, but it opposes reaching the same result by means of a law binding upon all employers in a given state, or throughout the union. If there were a movement and a possibility of establishing an eight-hour workday and a minimum wage by legal enactment throughout the land, the Federation would oppose such policies, because it has in a large measure accomplished the same purposes and will accomplish them by the initiative of the associations or the organizations, and by the grit and courage of the manhood and womanhood of the men and women of the A.F.L.

Earlier in the same testimony, reprinted in 1941 in the A.F.L. pamphlet "The American Labor Movement," Mr. Gompers thus explained his position on a legal minimum wage:

> In my judgment the proposal to establish by law a minimum wage for women, though well meant, is a curb upon the rights, the natural development, and the opportunity for development of the women employed in the industries of our country. If the legislature should once fix a minimum wage, it would have the opportunity to use the machinery of the state to enforce work at that rate whether the workers desired to render services or not. I am very suspicious of the activities of governmental agencies. . . . I have some apprehension that if the legislature were allowed to establish a maximum workday it might also compel workmen to work up to the maximum allowed.

Again to quote Mr. Gompers:

> The A.F.L. is not in favor of fixing, by legal enactment, certain minimum wages. The attempts of the government to establish wages at which workmen may work, according to the teachings of history, will result in a long era of industrial slavery.
>
> Wherever the workers are most active politically and place their faith in a political party for the attainment of their rights and interests, there they lose sight of their economic interests, believing that by casting their vote once a year they can secure remedial legislation that will take the place of the work of trade unionism.

The A.F.L. also maintained that workers should earn high enough wages so that they could protect themselves in time of unemploy-

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ment and hence for many years opposed unemployment insurance. That attitude was altered by the depression years beginning in 1929. The A.F.L. has since taken an active part in securing laws to regulate wages and hours and to obtain social security.

Matthew Woll in 1932 argued that labor parties in their failure had always dragged down the unions in the panics which marked the alternating busts and booms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, the fact is that they both fell down together in most instances. Nowadays the trade unions are much too firmly rooted in our industrial way of life to disappear easily whatever happens in the political arena. Even if labor's political strength did not succeed in electing an adequate number of Congressmen, the size of the labor vote would not invite attack by vested interests. Indeed the politicians themselves would endeavor to steal the thunder of their critics. That has been the story in the past when the demands of the Populist parties have reappeared in the platforms of the orthodox Republican and Democratic parties.

Even in the early days, neither the A.F.L. nor Gompers personally was permitted by circumstances to be 100 per cent consistent. From the first to the most recent A.F.L. convention, political demands, requests for government action, and the misdeeds and virtues of individual politicians have been prominent on the agenda. That also applies to the activities of state federations and central labor unions.

In large part, Gomper's policies were a justifiable reaction against the amorphous structure and the diversified, vague aims of the Knights of Labor. The workers in the eighties of the last century needed to acquire self-confidence and to learn to reply upon economic organizations based upon unity among skilled craftsmen. These craftsmen were engaged in securing immediate benefits, and the growth of such economic organizations was an indispensable preliminary to the success of the general labor movement. The specific exclusion of party politics from A.F.L. conventions (see Article III and Section 9 of the A.F.L. Constitution), was an attempt to prevent contests and splits by heated political partisans. After all, the attitude of "hands-off" to the state, as expressed in the previous quotations from Gompers, was in the American tradition.

Because the United States in its inception was a rebellion of 13 colonies against a tyrannical foreign government, its founders were apprehensive of the powers of all centralized government. They put into our Constitution the complicated system of checks and balances which has made it somewhat difficult for the government to act as an instrument of, by, and for the people. Only in times of war and crisis was the federal government allowed to take the initiative and assume control of more than a minimum of governmental functions. The federal government was slowly ceded certain rights but was looked upon as having only the functions of a night watchman or as the agency which kept the ring for the contestants who battled according to their economic interests, and thereby served the common good.

This point of view greatly influenced labor. Just as soon as Samuel Gompers shed his early studies of Marx, he too became most suspicious of any government interference. His imprint remained outstanding upon many decades of the development of the American labor movement. Indeed, it persisted beyond his death in 1924. Not until ten years later, in the New Deal decade, were the unions convinced that state power and government agencies could be used for them in bold, constructive ways. It was the New Deal after all which gave legal status to collective bargaining so that union membership soared to unprecedented heights. It was the federal government which set up relief agencies that created jobs when the large corporations and private enterprise had failed. Now the question is, not whether government shall intervene, but to what end. Will it be a Wagner or a Taft-Hartley act?

That lesson of past experience has not been lost upon American labor, whether in the A.F.L., the C.I.O., or the Railroad Brotherhoods. The unions have found, however, that what the government gives it can also take away. The Taft-Hartley Act apparently justified the early suspicions of those elderly labor leaders who had been fearful of the National Labor Relations Board. But labor cannot go back. It must go forward now because it faces the task of working out a new philosophy and

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a new policy in political action in the light of the experience of the New Deal decade, 1933-1943.

In my opinion, a new political alignment with a new philosophy is emerging, the aim of which may be expressed as: social planning plus the Bill of Rights. We, the people, shall consciously use in bad times and good our nation's collective resources and develop *public* as well as *private* enterprise. But at all times the government agencies must exist to serve the individual citizen. We move in the direction of control either by great corporations or by community and governmental agencies.

A LABOR PARTY

The question is often asked why is there no political party of the organized workers and progressives as in Great Britain and other European countries? The differences are rooted in history. In the early United States there was no landed nobility and feudal caste system, no established church, and class consciousness was never well developed among the mass of the workers, although there were episodes of bitter class struggles in labor union history.

Our country is continental in its scope, heterogeneous in its racial composition. It operates an elaborate system of checks and balances among the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and is divided into 48 different states. It has a big farming population which is exceedingly powerful in politics. In the United States, as we have seen, our theory of state power was the opposite to that propounded in older countries. Here the state only has such rights as are relinquished by the people. Our government is continually under the influence of sectional pressure groups and that too complicates the building up of a community point of view.

In Europe the political parties are instruments of definite social classes. Specific economic groups have their own political expressions. In this country, a political party is not a horse which stands hitched to a particular post. Rather it is like a horse that is free to wander and do its political grazing all over the social-political meadow in order to secure votes.

Another big difference in the political pattern of the United States is the introduction during the last three decades of the primary election. This made it possible to infiltrate the old political parties with representatives of labor, farmers, and other groups. The unions were able to use collective bargaining in politics for specific ends. Under the primary system, the unions do not have to strike a bargain with the central leadership of the political party but can exercise their influence directly for individual local candidates. There is no similar process of party infiltration in the political pattern of other countries.

Another distinctive feature of American politics is the premium placed upon personality, particularly in the presidential contests. (The boom for Eisenhower, which will brook no denial, is the current example.) Political leadership must be glamorous and flexible and, like the manager of a hotel, must attract a great variety of customers. It is not necessary for the hotel guests to agree 100 per cent with each other or subscribe to a set of party principles. For example, the composition of the Democratic Party seems like a crazy quilt made up of the Southern Democrats, the big city machines, labor, and progressive groups. Only Franklin D. Roosevelt could hold that combination together. These conditions determine the nature of political action in the United States and, if there is to be any favorable political re-alignment, labor will have to be very active because the unions still suffer from a hostile environment.

Argument about political policies for the organized workers has recurred for more than a century. Way back in the first half of the nineteenth century, W. H. Sylvis strongly urged that the workers should build up an independent party. You will recall that in Philadelphia, where the first clear-cut trade union was started in 1792, there was also formed in 1828 the Workingmen's Political Party. Unfortunately, the workers did not have enough confidence in themselves and their own candidates to continue the party for more than three years.

In contrast to Sylvis, George H. Evans (editor of *Workingmen's Advocate* and prominent in New York for his proposal to distribute free land to settlers), strongly urged non-

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partisan activity in politics. Later when Gompers came and successfully built up the American Federation of Labor in the eighties, he followed the ideas of Evans rather than of Sylvis. Even down to the present time the Gompers influence and his philosophy of voluntarism are prominent among the A.F.L. unions.

It is important to notice that the many political parties and agitations of the nineteenth century were always closely connected with agrarian discontent. Apart from efforts confined to cities, it was the farmer who organized the Grange, Greenback, Populist, Non-Partisan League, Farmer-Labor, Progressive, and other political organizations. In the main, they fought the menace of monopolies.

When the farmers found that the best lands were being taken over by the big business interests, and when they found that they were being exploited by the railroads, the speculators and the bankers, they agitated for laws to break the trusts and to curtail the financial power of their oppressors.

The A.F.L.'s non-partisan policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies" was probably a wise measure in early days. It produced some results. Matthew Woll claimed that in the 23 years, 1909-1931, the A.F.L. defeated 115 proposed laws which were unfavorable to it and secured the adoption of 231 laws favorable to labor. He also asserted that in 1931 the various state legislatures had passed 489 laws proposed by labor. Some of these measures were small and ineffective, although the setting up of the Department of Labor (1913), the Seamen's Act (1915), and the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction law (1932) were important advances.

When, however, both Democratic and Republican politicians unite to restrict the labor unions, the unions have no friends to reward. They can only vote their hates and that is not good enough because there is no guarantee that the candidate whom they elect will be better than the one they rejected.

The labor movement in the United States is now receiving an intensive course of study in the school of hard knocks. Telegrams and union delegations were of no avail in Congress last midsummer. The American Federation of Labor's Educational and Political League has been forced by the Taft-Hartley measure to follow the example of the Political Action Committee, C.I.O. The A.F.L. can no longer indulge in shadow boxing and be afraid of showing its strength and weakness in political contests. It must come out and take chances. It must not merely endorse candidates but prove that it can get out the vote and deliver it for the approved candidates. That means, of course, the development of a philosophy which will also appeal to people who are not trade union members. It will mean an alliance with intellectuals who, in the past, have not been highly regarded by the founders of the A.F.L.

Such efforts have their own dangers. If the American labor movement eventually starts a third party, it will be accused of splitting the progressive vote. If, as in New York State, such an alliance of trade unions and men and women of good will and social intelligence from every social stratum begins to operate successfully, then it will have the difficult interim role of holding the balance of power. Then, too, under our primary system of party government there is the possibility of Communist infiltration, as the American Labor Party founders discovered in New York State.

But American labor needs more than an armchair philosophy or a new theoretical policy. It needs a new emphasis upon political action and its possible results. The arguments are not difficult to understand.

The habits of nation-wide unions in acting on their own are not likely to be broken down easily—and certainly not by November next! The formation by the A.F.L. at its Convention, 1947, of Labor's Educational and Political League has, however, given the green light to political action. The city central labor unions and the state federations will thus be able to build from the bottom up. No real third party can be built without a base in organized labor.

The difficulties, however, are many. The glamour of the presidential contest distracts from putting good people into our city halls and state legislatures. There is still the stigma on politics. Labor should experiment with local, city, and state candidates. It should remove the deadly apathy which means that

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barely half the eligible voters register and ballot. Maybe it would be a good thing for each local and central labor union not only to examine the union labels worn by their delegates but to check if they have registered. In Kansas, in 1944, the percentage who voted was only 44; New York was little better with 51. Voting has always been very low among workers, particularly working women and workers' wives.

The C.I.O.-P.A.C. showed in 1944 how the vote could be gotten out. If the seven million A.F.L. members and their relatives were all active, much could be made to happen. The voting potential of the United States is over 80 million and it should not be difficult to activize millions who have never before bothered to vote. Labor must do a much better job in educating itself for the new alignment and also in public relations to put its record before the community. During the war years, for example, farmers feared John L. Lewis as they had previously feared J. P. Morgan of Wall Street. The trade unions are often represented as a special interest pressure group with no concern for other sections of society.

Everybody agrees that no genuine third party movement can function unless the organized workers in their trade unions are an integral part of it. But, in addition to the financial resources which are necessary, a political labor movement can only march if it has ideals. The old political machines are able to function because they provide jobs for their supporters. For many years a new party must march on the ideals of its supporters alone. Many of them will have to be enthusiastic about their movement in order to give it the sweat and blood and tears which always goes into the early pioneering days of any organization. Such an organization, of course, cannot be built from the top; it must be rooted in the active support of individual members. It is relatively easy to call a strike in the mine or factory or in a large industrial plant. It is much more difficult to get out the vote on election day. The worker has had experience of acting on the base of where he works but, when he returns home, he enters into quite a different group of associations.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for many years supported a labor party and asked the A.F.L. to initiate it. At present that seems feasible only in few states. A genuine farmer-labor party would not for long be a third party. The reactionary elements of the older parties would unite into one.

From here on in the political policies of American labor are dependent upon its own activity and the economic situation. If the National Association of Manufacturers continues its attacks, the unions will be spurred to political activity in self-defense. Those attacks may help to unite the A.F.L. and C.I.O. and other unions. If the economic boom ends again in a bust, the experiences of the New Deal decade will be remembered and politics will be consciously used to bring about social changes by consent.

A grandfather gave his two grandsons stock of a well-known bank. The bank's president wrote the usual: "It has come to my attention that you recently became owners of our stock. May we suggest that you recommend our bank and its services to your friends and associates?"

The father replied to the letter: "My older son's business associates at the moment consist of a number of other eight year-olds with whom he has been actively trading playing cards. He says that he will be delighted to recommend to them the services of your bank but adds a friendly but timely warning that you should not expect more than a minimum of business from this source immediately.

"My other son, who has reached the age of 22 months, has no business associates at all and I would say that his only friend is a black spaniel. Unfortunately, it was only yesterday that in the course of an argument he bit the dog and I am afraid that at the moment he has neither friends nor business associates. However, he graciously extends his cordial greetings and says he is looking forward with great interest to receiving your next financial report." *Wall Street Journal*

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We should support
Socialist governments

MARSHALL PLAN STRATEGY

By ADOLF STURMTHAL
Professor of Economics, Bard College

THE progress of Communism in the countries East of the Stettin-Trieste line has proceeded in a sufficiently regular fashion to allow the observer to discern a pattern. An analysis of this pattern is, I believe, indispensable for an understanding of the process by which one totalitarian regime after another has been established. Without such understanding it will be impossible to devise a strategy designed to restrain the further advance of communism in Europe.

This pattern of the Communist offensives has emerged quite clearly in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Not all of these countries have completed the course and obtained the highest degree of totalitarianism. They are, as it were, in different stages of the evolution, but the sequence of the stages is identical in all of them. Two of the so-called Soviet "satellites" are missing in our list: Yugoslavia and Albania. The reason for this omission will be discussed later.

The crux of the matter is in the relationship between the Communist and the Socialist parties in the different countries. The story begins with the establishment of friendly relations between the two leftist labor parties. In the atmosphere of the liberation from the Nazis and Fascists, in the great hour of triumph of the Red Army, such friendly cooperation was almost a matter of course. Any one resisting such an understanding would have been swept off the stage of history by the fury of the masses. In one country of Eastern Europe after another, as the Red Army advanced into Hitler-Europe, a Communist-Socialist alliance was established.

With equal inevitability, the leftist alliance claimed and obtained a position within the governments established after the national liberation. Not only did the two labor parties form a substantial bloc which, even in the agricultural countries of Eastern Europe, was numerically strong enough to claim, under the laws of democracy, representation in the government; but the authority of the labor parties, Socialist and Communist, was also greatly enhanced by the defeat of the Nazis and the splendid victories of the Red Army. The presence of Communists was undoubtedly helpful in enabling a better understanding to come about between the new government and the Soviet occupation authorities, wherever such existed. A possibly apocryphal story is told of Chancellor Karl Renner of Austria on the night of the first parliamentary elections in Austria after the liberation. Until late, the election returns coming in showed an amazing weakness of the Communist Party, so much so that it was doubtful whether a single Communist deputy would be elected. Renner is reported to have prayerfully invoked the Lord's help in assuring the election of at least a few Communists, for without them, relations with the Soviet authorities would have been greatly impaired.

The alliance of the two independent labor parties is only the first step. It is followed by a Communist request for a closer understanding, usually in the form of joint electoral lists. Once these are accepted, the independence, even the mere identity, of the Socialist Party becomes doubtful. The elected members of Parliament don't know whether their election

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is due to the strength of their own party or to that of the allies. The object of their loyalty becomes nebulous. This confusion prepares the ground for the next step in the Communist offensive.

LEFT-WING SOCIALISTS

A left wing exists in most Socialist parties; it is typically a group which favors intimate co-operation with the Communists. The latter now set out to strengthen it. They offer their support to Socialist leaders of the type of Lotar Radaceanu in Rumania, Arpad Szakasits in Hungary, Zdenek Fierlinger in Czechoslovakia, Oscar Lange in Poland. If there is no left-wing, the Communists help create and develop it, for it plays a vital part in their strategy. As soon as it is strong enough, the Communists offer their support to enable the left-wing to take over the party leadership and purge the Socialist movement of recalcitrant members. The decapitation of that wing of the Socialists which defends the independence of their party is a major requisite for the success of the Communist strategy. In this they can count upon the tradition of the socialist movement which favors the unity of the working class. To present what is really the capitulation of the Socialists as an understanding of two equal partners, they must silence those who might be able to point out the difference. Hence the need for the elimination of the right-wing leaders.

Having achieved this, the united Communist-Socialist bloc is ready to claim exclusive power. The leftist group is strong enough to form the nucleus of a parliamentary majority which needs only the support of a few selected members of other political parties. This is rarely lacking for long. The leftist bloc has succeeded, in the meantime, in obtaining control of the key ministries—Interior, commanding the police; Justice, controlling the courts; and whatever pressure is needed to "make friends and influence people" can now be applied without the interference of the law. Political foes are arrested, a conspiracy and a few acts of espionage are discovered at a convenient moment; if unavoidable, a demonstrative execution like that of Nikola Petkoff in Bulgaria is arranged until the right-wing opposition breaks down. Right-wing opposition may continue to exist, but only by the grace of the Communists.

As a final stage of the development, the two leftist parties merge leaving only one genuine political movement on the stage—the Communist-controlled Leftists. The course in five easy lessons on "How to establish a totalitarian regime" is completed.

In Yugoslavia and Albania the process was completed somewhat more rapidly, in Albania because the Socialist Party was non-existent; in Yugoslavia because the weak Serb Socialists had joined Mikhailovitch's Chetniks and were, therefore, defeated with them.

In all other countries of the Soviet sphere of influence, developments have followed the pattern outlined above. Most of them have reached the penultimate phase. The merger of the two leftist parties is impending. It has been consummated in Rumania; it will most probably have been achieved in Hungary by the time this article is printed. Poland, Czechoslavakia, and Bulgaria are heading for this final and crowning victory of Communist strategy.

The relationship between Communists and Socialists is thus the key to the entire development. In most countries of the Continent a close alliance of the two parties is an irresistible force which doubtlessly would attract like a magnet the few small splinters needed to give it full governmental power according to the rules of democracy. For most Socialists, this would be a decisive argument in favor of such an alliance, were it not that what has been happening so far is not an alliance, but a Socialist capitulation, not a merger of the two parties, but the submersion of the Socialists. As it it, the so-called Socialist-Communist alliance ends in the totalitarian rule of Communists and crypto-Communists.

The farther west we move in Europe, the more important is the Communist-Socialist relationship. For, if this bloc was strong enough to set up totalitarian regimes in the agricultural countries of Eastern Europe, how much more successful would it be in the factories and workshops of the industrial center and west of the Continent? There is, no doubt that in Austria, Germany, Scandinavia, France, and the Low Countries an alliance of

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the leftist parties would be either in power immediately upon its conclusion, or, as in Italy, a highly powerful pretender to the throne.

KEY TO PROBLEM

Foes of a one-party state will, therefore, have to understand that as long as a Socialist-Communist alliance is merely a tool for the establishment of a Communist one-party regime, the independence of the Socialist Party is the key to the situation. Once the Socialists have been turned by Communist strategy into submissive instruments, very little can be done to arrest the progress of the totalitarian plans. A strong Socialist Party, capable of retaining the allegiance of at least a large part of the working class, is a condition for the continued existence of a democratic regime.

Those, therefore, who like Hayek in his *Road to Serfdom,* Mises, and so many others claim that there is no real difference between Socialists and Communists are innocently furthering Communist strategy. If they are right, the European Continent, nay Europe as a whole is lost to Communist regimes and the Marshall plan is a mere waste of American resources.

This, fortunately, is not a view that corresponds to reality, nor is it universally or even widely held. It is necessary, however, to go beyond a mere affirmation of diversity between Socialists and Communists. Only if the European Socialists are strong and successful can democracy in Europe be successfully defended.

It is perhaps useful to imagine what the consequences of a Socialist failure in Europe are likely to be.

Suppose, for instance, that the British Labor Government were to end in utter failure, not simply a minor electoral defeat, but the kind of failure which discredits a movement and an idea. In Britain, the main consequence might be simply a return of a Conservative Government with possibly a slight or even substantial increase of the Communist vote. It seems improbable that for some time to come this would seriously threaten the democratic institutions of the country. On the Continent, however, the result would be different in kind, not merely in quantity. For the failure, dismal and unequivocal, of the greatest democratic Socialist experiment in history would not simply mean a return of democratic capitalistic parties to power, but rather a polarization of politics at the extremes, right and left. The disappointed former electors of the Socialists would either turn to the Communists or retire into apathetic resignation. A few might support anti-democratic movements of the right. A small number only would more or less wholeheartedly adopt a democratic capitalistic program. The destruction of democratic socialism on the Continent would strengthen anti-democratic forces; primarily, I am inclined to think, the Communist.

If, therefore, capitalistic forces on the Continent were to defeat the democratic Socialist parties, it would not be the former, but rather the Communists, the Fascists and those valuable, if concealed, allies of anti-democratic forces, the skeptic and indifferent citizens, who would benefit from the failure. Particularly would this be so were the defeat of democratic progressivism on the Continent to be imposed by outside forces such as the United States.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to claim that a contradiction exists at present between capitalism and democracy in Europe, and that, in the interests of democracy, social experimentation in Europe should not be regarded as an enemy of the United States, but rather as a potential ally. Whatever views he may hold regarding the achievements and the prospects of free private enterprise in the United States, an open-minded observer would agree that all kinds of new forms of enterprise—not all of them necessarily nationalized or socialistic—are likely to exist in Europe and that the only live and real issue is that of the political regime in which they will rise and grow: democracy or some form of totalitarianism.

It would be ridiculous and futile, nevertheless, to ask the United States to support Socialist movements and Socialist experiments. After the grandiose achievements of American production during and since the war, American capitalism is far too conscious of its strength and too sure of itself to con-

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sider such a policy. Indeed this is not the real problem.

What matters is, that the Congress of the United States does not declare war upon the forces of social democracy in Europe. From time to time, proposals have cropped up to refuse Marshall Plan aid to Socialist or Socialist-supported governments. A glance at a political map of Europe would show that such conditions would practically restrict American support to two of the most objectionable dictatorships in Europe, Franco-Spain and Portugal. Not only the Socialists of Europe, but all sincere democrats would regard this as evidence for the Communist claim that the United States is not out to help democracy in Europe, but rather to defend the wealthy and privileged classes against the advance of democracy. Moreover, the proponents of this policy would have to convince the State and the Defense departments in Washington that Spain and Portugal, and possibly Greece and Turkey, would be sufficiently powerful allies for the United States to offset the loss of the rest of the Old World.

In the second place, the United States must recognize that its own national interest requires the success of the British Labor Government, or at least the avoidance of an economic breakdown in Great Britain. The United States needs Great Britain if Europe is to be preserved; American soldiers have fought in Europe to prevent any Continental power from subduing Great Britain, and doubtless would have to do so again. A crisis in Britain or any development which would weaken the country would, at the same time, strengthen the forces of aggression and thus hasten the day when American troops might have to land again in Europe. No less important is our understanding of the way in which a failure of the Labor Government would strengthen the Communist parties all over Europe. American democracy would lose allies which it can ill afford to abandon.

Lastly, the United States may have to choose among the large number of those who offer themselves as allies and friends. Being the most powerful and wealthiest nation on earth, the United States is being courted by a great many, not all of whom can at the same time enjoy the friendship of American democracy. In particular, the United States could not give support to Fascists, Nazis, and former collaborators without running the risk of losing the sympathy of a large part of the European workers and democrats. Their support, however, is indispensable for the maintenance of democracy in Europe. And without democracy in Central and Western Europe, the defense of the United States itself would become increasingly difficult and ever more incompatible with the existence of free institutions in this country.

Following Benjamin Franklin's discovery of electricity a scoffer caustically inquired: "Of what use is that type of knowledge?"

To which Franklin replied: "Of what use is a child? He may grow into a man."

—Christian Science Monitor

In a mid-western court a man was suing the local traction company for injuries allegedly received in a street-car accident. The truth of the matter was that he had actually received his bruises when his auto collided with a telephone post. And this had happened a full mile from the street-car line.

The plaintiff's witnesses swore to the facts of the accident, and things were going nicely for him, when one of their number was suddenly beset with an attack of conscience and during a recess went to the judge's chambers and confessed to the frame-up.

The judge rushed back into the court room with fire in his eye, determined to make an immediate public revelation of the perjurers. But he was brought up short in his resolution when the traction company's attorney produced three witnesses prepared to swear that the plaintiff was drunk when he boarded the street-car.

—Wall Street Journal

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Reform in New Orleans

CHEP MORRISON—MAYOR

By RALPH WALLACE

AMERICA'S most amazing political paradox is the rocket-like rise of 36-year-old deLesseps (Chep) Morrison as Mayor of New Orleans. For generations that city had ranked as the country's most amiably wicked. Yet two years ago, as a reform candidate in a town which has always abhorred reformers, Morrison won a smashing victory with a promise to clean up New Orleans—and keep it clean. He has made that promise good with a thunderous array of achievements.

Against an entrenched underworld army of some 8,000—cutthroat gamblers, slot-machine czars, plain prostitutes and thugs and touts—Morrison unleashed a jet-propelled attack. Within a few weeks gambling dens which had milked an estimated $30,000,000 annually from the people of New Orleans were slammed shut, while 4,800 slot machines went out of business. B. C. (Before Chep), taxi drivers boasted openly to tourists of 60 "houses" and a gamey battalion of 1,000 ladies of the evening. Today ladies and houses have disappeared as completely as though vaporized. As one local newspaperman summed it up, "New Orleans is still the best good-time town in America, but it's no longer a super clip joint for racketeers." Strip-teasers still strip, although more sedately, in the colorful French Quarter; and bars do a roaring business 24 hours a day.

Morrison's accomplishments have reached far beyond delousing the city of underworld parasites. He drove through a $50,000,000 public-works program and bond issue which will provide a new union station, a new civic center, new express highways and streets—and incidentally eliminate 144 dangerous grade crossings. His administration lopped off deadheads, reducing city payrolls by 600; established the first real pension fund for city employees; saved the municipality $500,000 annually by centralizing purchasing, and—miracle of miracles in boss-ridden New Orleans—inaugurated open meetings of the city council where municipal business is transacted at announced times each week in front of any citizen who wants to watch. An overdraft of $1,000,000, inherited from his predecessor, Robert S. Maestri, has been wiped out and a $1,500,000 surplus rolled up.

Naturally such a volcanic house-cleaning has resulted in a strident anti-Morrison campaign from those who formerly battened on graft. But it is safe to say a majority of New Orleaneans have remained behind the Mayor—if for no other reason than his dramatic drive on juvenile delinquency. "Let the kids blow off steam and they won't later blow safes," Chep rapped, and opened 56 new playgrounds and youth centers, teaching everything from handicraft to handball. With juvenile crime waves on a frightening upsurge in most of the nation's big cities, delinquency rates in New Orleans have been shaved by 24 per cent.

Morrison's own personality lends the proper debonair touch to this spruce-up of the South's greatest and gaudiest metropolis. Chep has the snapping brown eyes and taut yet mobile features of a Hollywood leading man. He also boasts the erect and jaunty carriage of a military officer—he was a thrice-decorated Army colonel in Europe. Yet even these personal vote-getting qualifications have not proved half so important as his incorruptibility. Living on his $10,000 salary as Mayor, Morrison was approached shortly

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after his inauguration with an offer of $75,000 in cash per year—a neat $300,000 bribe for his four-year term—if he would allow a "certain number" of gamblers and bookmakers to drift back to the city. Chep laughed in his caller's face.

With two years still to serve, Morrison now faces the toughest fight of his life with Earl Long, recently elected Governor of Louisiana. Long, brother of Huey, has already called on Morrison to resign, with no explanation save that a "good" man—meaning a Long-approved man—ought to be Mayor. Long has also threatened to force Morrison's resignation by having the Long-dominated legislature clamp down on city funds—a move similar to that which Huey Long's machine used successfully in 1936 to force the resignation of Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley by chopping off vital city revenues. "But Chep won't quit like Walmsley did," one friend of the Mayor's told me. "Chep will fight like a wildcat, and if Long goes through with his plans, the country's likely to see the damndest, dingdong battle in the history of Southern politics."

DISTINGUISHED LINEAGE

Chep's remarkable story starts with a childhood in New Roads, Louisiana, 125 miles upriver from New Orleans. His lineage is distinguished. One ancestor was Ferdinand deLesseps, who built the Suez Canal; another founded the Bank of Louisiana in 1840. Chep's father, Jacob Haight Morrison, was a successful lawyer who still holds something of a record in Louisiana politics by winning six straight four-year terms as district attorney of Pointe Coupee, Iberville, and West Baton Rouge parishes.

Chep led his high-school class as valedictorian and the 1,200 freshmen students at Louisiana State with straight-A marks. Then in the summer of 1929, between Chep's freshman and sophomore years, the elder Morrison died, and the subsequent stock-market crash virtually wiped out the small estate he had left his widow. To complete his education Chep took a variety of jobs—hoeing cotton on the university farm at 25 cents an hour, janitor work, law-school librarian, selling hosiery from door to door. He continued to lead his class and graduated second from law school in 1934.

Chep emerged from the university into a Louisiana depressingly overstocked with lawyers but finally managed to wangle an attorney's job with the N.R.A. in New Orleans. There, in hundreds of wage-and-hour cases prepared against sweatshop employers, his social consciousness began to stir. In one sensational case he fought one of the South's biggest textile corporations which was paying workers an average of $12 per week for 60 hours' work—and not only forced a shortening of hours and an increase in wages, but won a cash award of $200 in back pay for each worker as well. Meanwhile he was practicing a number of law crusades on the side—bludgeoning a bonding company into paying off a group of Negroes mulcted by a crooked retal-estate operator; even winning $2,000 from a bank for an illiterate peanut vendor whose daughter had forged his "X" to checks and then skipped town.

By 1939 Chep and his brother Jacob, together with Hale Boggs, now a Congressman from Louisiana, had built up a flourishing law firm of their own. That year the odoriferous scandals of the Huey Long machine began to rock the state. Chep and a small group of cronies, including his law partners, formed the People's League to swell the rising tide of sentiment for clean government. In a legal battle which included picketing the City Hall, they forced the resignation of Charles A. Byrne, Long-sponsored New Orleans' district attorney, on charges that he had failed to take action against tax officials who were later proved to be stealing city and state funds. Meanwhile the same group began to look around for a strong candidate for governor. Finally, in Sam Jones, Lake Charles attorney, they found him.

In the ensuing campaign Chep ran for the legislature himself. It was his first taste of rough-and-tumble politics, but when Jones was elected he became one of Jones' floor leaders in the House.

As a reserve officer, Chep was called to active service in 1941, went overseas in 1943, and was re-elected to the legislature the next year without a campaign. A member of the Infantry and of the Army Transportation

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Corps, he won a bronze star for his staff work in assembling and loading ships for the Normandy invasion, another bronze star and the Legion of Merit for services in France and Belgium, as well as the Croix de Guerre and Order of Leopold, and a field promotion to Colonel for his work in restoring the port of Ghent. Cut off for two weeks in the Battle of the Bulge, Chep later attached to the British forces that took Bremen, and as chief of staff to Major-General Harry B. Vaughn, commander of occupation forces in Bremen, in effect became acting mayor of that port.

POST-WAR POLITICS

Chep—who had married a New Orleans girl during the war and had an infant son waiting at home—had no plans on politics, largely because of his absence for five years in the Army. But when he blew in from overseas, early in December, 1945, he encountered an Alice-in-Wonderland political situation that could have occurred nowhere but in Louisiana. The reform group in New Orleans had been unable to find a civic leader of any stature willing to run against the entrenched Maestri machine. In despair they finally picked as mayoralty candidate a political hack nicknamed "Bathtub Joe" Fernandez (from the fact he was always conveniently in the tub when reporters called in an attempt to get a statement). Now Joe—with the campaign halfway over—had withdrawn "in favor of Mayor Maestri."

Chep was as shocked as the rest of the city, and against his better judgment let himself be persuaded to step into Joe's shoes. Virtually forgotten after his long service overseas, he had only 41 days in which to revitalize the demoralized reform campaign, make himself known to the voters, and smash the Old Regular machine which had held power for virtually 50 years. Scornfully, gamblers announced odds against him of 20 to 1—with no takers.

Then began the most pyrotechnic campaign a goggle-eyed New Orleans had ever seen. Chep set his campaigning hours at 18 a day—allotting himself six hours for food, sleep, and his family. The women of the city massed behind his good-government crusade almost solidly, and a Veterans' Action Committee of 2,800 sprang up to aid their erstwhile comrade-in-arms. Even labor leaders, remembering Chep's helpful activities in N.R.A. days, began to swing behind him.

In short, crisp speeches, Chep hammered incessantly at the theme of a real clean-up at City Hall. Before daybreak, workers at streetcar barns, at textile plants, tough longshoremen along the docks, rubbed amazed eyes as the lithe overseas veteran strode among them to shake hands and deliver a hardhitting talk. Maestri, with his entrenched machine behind him, had never made a campaign speech or campaigned among voters, except perfunctorily. Chep had a vibrant personality and an approach as direct as a surgeon's knife. Murmurs began to sweep around town—"that guy Morrison's got something on the ball. . . . I believe he really means what he says. . . . maybe it is time to kick Maestri and his gang out."

Chep and his advisers—including ex-Marine Colonel A. A. Watters, today chief of police—proved resourceful. For years most New Orleans streets had been full of chuck holes; uncollected garbage rotted outside the homes of frantic housewives for as much as a week at a time. A "midnight patrol" of 150 veterans systematically covered the city with truckloads of cardboard signs on sticks. Every morning New Orleans voters on their way to work would pass such signs stuck in chuck holes: "Elect Morrison and get this repaired." Or in garbage cans: "Elect Morrison and have decent garbage collection."

In department stores, from sound trucks, in French Quarter saloons and before every group he could gather on street corners, Chep added two other themes to his crusade, "Victory's in the air" and "We've got 'em on the run." On election day the incredible happened; Morrison was successful by 4,000 majority. Never before had New Orleans seen such an upset victory.

Even before he took office, Chep moved with characteristic drive. One of his campaign pledges had been to eliminate the dictatorial powers of Mayor Maestri, who under an amendment to the city charter, sponsored by the Long machine, had appointive powers for every city job and absolute veto power over any decision of the city council. Chep

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called in the four city council members and told them to prepare to make their own appointments—he would sponsor a bill restoring their powers through the legislature himself. He did precisely that, together with other bills that abolished the Mayor's dictatorial powers, restored the authority of the Commission Council, and put the police department directly under the Mayor's jurisdiction.

Once in office, Chep continued the fireworks. The police department, where captaincies had sold for $2,000 under Maestri (plus a cut of each captain's graft), was shaken up so thoroughly that approximately 200 officers resigned, to be replaced by World War II veterans. John J. Kreiger, deputy commissioner of the Sanitation Department, was sentenced to the penitentiary for stealing $88,000 by carrying nonexistent employes on his payrolls (an appeal is pending); the head of the delinquent tax division was slammed into jail on similar charges; deadheads were fired all over the lot, including 27 lawyers from the city attorneyships alone. And, by removing favoritism and installing modern bookkeeping, revenue from the city sales tax increased $2,500,000 annually.

REFORMERS

Paradoxically, one of Chep's greatest battles was with the reformers. His first act had been to run professional gamblers out of business. But realizing that New Orleans liked minor forms of gambling, he went to the legislature with a proposal to legalize handbooks and a limited number of slot machines under strict regulation and heavy taxes which would have returned the city $7,000,000 a year. But the state's Protestant Ministerial Alliance—with unknown assistance from professional gamblers who hoped to force Chep to permit a return of wide-open gambling—slapped a bill down, even after a referendum had demonstrated that New Orleans favored the proposed legislation seven to one. Chep set his jaw stubbornly. "If we can't have legalized gambling there will be no gambling at all," he said, and has stuck to that decision.

Meanwhile Chep set out to sell the advantages of New Orleans, which derives 70 per cent of its income from port and allied activities. "The mayor of a big American city today must be more than an executive; he must be first and foremost a salesman," Chep told me recently in New Orleans. In Minneapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City and other cities of the Mississippi Valley, on national radio hook-ups, and through the Morrison-installed Office of International Relations at City Hall, he has followed that philosophy with dogged perseverance, even learning Spanish so he could make short speeches in Latin America. Up to date, Chep has made five flying trips to Caribbean, Central American, and South American areas, with spectacular results. The trade with the Dominican Republic through New Orleans since Chep visited that republic, for example, has shot up 600 per cent.

Too often dismal experience has demonstrated that a reform mayor can sometimes clean up a city and then fall down on the follow-through administration and political diplomacy which lastingly benefits a municipality. Mayor Morrison has persuaded his council to adopt 90 per cent of his measures. For instance, for 50 years New Orleans has agitated for a union station in order to consolidate the sprawling trackage of the nine railroads which serve the city. Under Chep, with the assistance of Commissioners Fred A. Earhart and Bernard McCloskey, the railroads have signed contracts for the station, and ground will be broken this year. Instead of entering New Orleans nine different ways the railroads will siphon into the city principally by one route—along the New Basin Canal, which will be filled in this year to provide the necessary right-of-way. This alone will eliminate scores of grade crossings.

Police precinct stations have been reduced from 12 to 7—and the extra five fitted out as youth centers, plus two big new youth centers, one with a 9,000-seat gymnasium being built. City Hall employes work an extra hour a day; overburdened policemen and firemen, on the other hand, work from 8 to 12 hours less per week. Pay rises for city employes, averaging 25 per cent, have been put into effect; the traffic court has been scrubbed to eliminate ticket fixing. Towering over all is the Morrison-inspired public works program and bond issue, approved by the city's voters last spring. More than anything else, its new union station, arterial highways, new streets,

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and projected civic center will change the face of the old city.

The great question mark in Louisiana today is Chep's political future. The Long-dominated state legislature can theoretically shut off every cent of city revenue. Earl Long has already threatened to chop the sales tax in half and thus deprive the city of $4,500,000 annually, or nearly a third of its budget. In short, the Morrison future depends in large part on the Long future. If Long cooperates with the city there will be no trouble. If he does not—if a knock-down battle ensues—Chep may emerge as the white knight of southern politics.

As matters stand today he has taken a giant stride toward building a better New Orleans. For the first time in a half century the city is really clean and efficiently administered. No matter what happens to him from now on, Chep Morrison will long be remembered as a symbol of one of the biggest and best municipal housecleanings in America's history.

An unabashed enthusiast says to understand the Russians is to love them. But why both? It isn't necessary with women. *Washington Star*

Pat had determined to give up drink and to test himself, he vowed to walk by his favorite bar. He trembled as he came near the door, but with an effort, he averted his eyes and marched past the door with his head in the air. He walked on for a couple of minutes, then stopped, patted himself on the chest and said: "Well done, Patrick me boy. Come on back and I'll treat you."

Two cockroaches were lunching in a dirty old sewer and excitedly discussing the spotless new restaurant in the neighborhood from which they had been barred.

"I hear," said one, "that the refrigerators shine like polished silver. The floors sparkle like diamonds. It's so clean. . . ."

"Please," said the second cockroach in disgust, nibbling at a moldy roll, "Not while I'm eating!" *—Army and Navy Journal*

As we were returning from a Church of Scotland service in Bermuda, we passed a corner store at the cross roads. From the second floor of the store came the sounds of crashing cymbals, trumpets, the clapping of hands, shouts of "Hallelujah!" A revival meeting was in progress.

A carriage containing a lady and the minister of the church we had just left, pulled up at the side of the road. The minister was heard to remark: "You know, that is one form of religion I don't thoroughly understand."

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Our Most Quotable Poet

By
ROBERT
FRANCIS

NOT everyone who quotes "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind" may know where the quotation comes from. Or "Pride ruined the angels." Or "Beauty is its own excuse for being." Or "He builded better than he knew." Or "God said I am tired of kings." Or "Here once the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world."

Whatever we think of Emerson as poet, we must agree that in his poetry he has said many things unforgettably. What other American poet can match him in phrase-making? Most of the Emersonian fragments are so characteristic of the man that hardly anyone to whom the words are familiar would confuse the author. Who but Emerson, for instance, would have said, "The God who made New Hampshire taunted the lofty land with little men?" Or "The lord is the peasant that was, the peasant the lord that shall be?" "Give all to love," is pure Emerson. So is "When halfgods go, the gods arrive." So is "I yielded myself to the perfect whole."

Yet in calling attention to Emerson as our most quotable poet, I know that I am doing him ambiguous honor. For we distrust quotability in a poet. I can hear more than one modern critic equating the quotable with the mediocre, Shakespeare notwithstanding. The critical charges against quotability might be three.

(1) Any poem, the critic would say, that invites being broken into fragments, whether of phrases, lines, or stanzas, is an unintegrated and, therefore, incomplete poem. A poem should be too much of a piece to be treated piecemeal.

The admirer of Emerson does well to admit the justness of this criticism. Many of Emerson's poems, including some of his best, are collections rather than unities. "The perfect whole" which was his philosophic ideal was not his poetic practice. He thought of himself in the tradition of the bards, men strongly moved to speak or sing but often careless of how they sang. Writing of Merlin, the ideal poet, Emerson says

> He shall not his brain encumber
> With the coil of rhythm and number;
> But, leaving rule and pale forethought
> He shall aye climb
> For his rhyme.

And, indeed, the short vigorous wing-beats of Emerson's characteristic couplets (at their best "perfect-paired as eagles' wings") are a constant climbing.

But it is the artist-craftsman, willing to encumber his brain and to employ pale forethought, rather than the soaring bard, who can be counted on for the well-rounded and integrated poem. Emerson's frequent felicity half-hides his scorn of the artist-craftsman's approach. Such a gem as

> The sexton tolling his bell at noon
> Deems not that great Napoleon—

is not, despite its perfection, the work of a lapidary, but apparently was caught on the wing. "Toy with the bow," counselled Emerson, "yet hit the white." It was his good luck to hit the white often.

But though Emerson's poems are often loosely put together, it is the strength of the parts, of course, more than the looseness of the whole that makes them so quotable. Even were they tightly knit as Shakespeare's sonnets, particular phrases and lines, as in Shakespeare, would stand out. Emerson's "Brahma" and his "Concord Hymn," both often quoted in bits, are beautiful integers.

(2) The second point that our hypothetical critic might make is that the quotable poet, always with notable exceptions, is an obvious poet. It is because he says familiar things in a more or less unfamiliar way that he strikes a responsive note in the average reader. He enjoys the demi-virtue of patness.

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Though there is general truth in this, I think it does not apply to Emerson. He is clear of the charge of the obvious. However far his basic ideas may be shown to be derivative, his particular ideas and the expression of them are vigorously original. Always tangible even when most profound, those ideas once stated have the air of having always been familiar. If they are commonplaces now, they were not so when he first expressed them. Open his volume to almost any page and you will find him hitting the white again and again, a white that no one else ever quite hit before. "Hither we bring our insect miseries to the rocks." "For a proud idleness like this crowns all thy mean affairs." "And leave thy peacock wit behind." "Go where he will, the wise man is at home." "The conscious stone to beauty grew."

(3) There is one more charge to be made, I think—perhaps the most serious of the three. The quotable poem, quotable in whole or in part, is likely to be one in which the content of the poem overshadows the poem itself. The quotable poem is often nothing more than rhymed wisdom. The poet has something to say that could have been said in prose, but by saying it in verse he gains terseness and edge. The reader, liking the message, finds the neat and well-tied package convenient to carry in his mind.

Emerson comes under this category. Much of his poetry is indisputably rhymed wisdom, and what could be farther from the fashion of today? If our critic commends him at all, it will be in spite of the wisdom. He will point to a passage like the one already quoted on the sexton and Napoleon as showing how the instinctive though unacknowledged artist in Emerson could at times transcend his particular bardic message for the pure poetry of image, mood, tone, and overtone. But are we content to praise Emerson only for a few happy accidents?

In a recent essay, *Squares and Oblongs,* Mr. W. H. Auden gives his opinion that a young man who likes "hanging around words listening to what they say" may become a poet, whereas a young man who feels that he himself has important things to say will not. If we take this opinion at its face value and not as a provocative half-truth, we must rule out Emerson, for clearly he did feel all his life that he had important things to say. We should have to rule out Whitman too, and Emily Dickinson. However different these three poets are from one another, they have in common an impelling urge to get something said about themselves and the world around them. Would it not be fantastic to call that urgency irrelevant to their poetry or even a hindrance to it? Without that drive toward statement, one cannot imagine them writing at all. They were explorers in words just because they were discoverers of ideas. To be sure, if we had to choose, as Mr. Auden implies that we do, between a sensitiveness to verbal manipulation and a will to communicate, then like him we should choose the former, for without that to some degree there could be no poet at all. But fortunately the two choices are not mutually exclusive. Normally they occur together (though not often in perfect balance), each stimulating and enriching the other. It is a commonplace that some of the greatest poems of the past are narrative or didactic or both. Their greatness is neither because of, nor in spite of, that fact, but rather because of the presence of an imaginative power that in any age can make memorable poetry out of much or out of next to nothing.

Since Emerson was always the sayer, what was it he chiefly had to say? Child of his age, he lived in an exalted universe "full of light and of deity." But in that universe most men, he observed, were strangely unaware of and unequal to their birthright. Both in his prose and in his poetry Emerson dealt with the paradox of man: that while man as part of the universe was necessarily divine, his divinity was often no better than a feeble spark.

Now if you believe that a benevolent God includes and infuses everything there is (man and all nature), it is difficult to avoid an extreme philosophic optimism. And if while maintaining that optimism, you find serious fault with men for what they are or are not, it is equally difficult not to be fundamentally inconsistent. Emerson got himself into that predicament, and has been persistently taken to task on both scores. Though I am among the critics rather than the defenders of his thought, I should like to point

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out that the one fault tends to counteract the other: his inconsistency saves him from the most extreme optimism. He was not too much the optimist to say this about man:

> But man crouches and blushes,
> Absconds and conceals;
> He creepeth and peepeth,
> He palters and steals;
> Infirm, melancholy,
> Jealous glancing around,
> An oaf, an accomplice,
> He poisons the ground.

Had Emerson been a logical thinker as well as a poet and seer, he would have clarified this paradox even if he could not have solved it. As it is, he gives us various points of view and lets us reconcile them if we can. In one and the same poem, the Ode inscribed to Channing, he asserts two things: that freedom is being violated, and that in the long run freedom is inviolable. The effect of the poem is to urge one to act and not to act.

But Emerson is more often exclusively the bland affirmer than the thundering prophet. In an age like ours when any sort of optimism seems tinged with absurdity, it may be impossible for Emerson to persuade us, but he can, I believe, still move and invigorate us. The very contrast between his outlook and ours can be a good medicine. We can take him as a tonic, an elixir, a vitamin concentrate, if not as a food.

His position will have at least our respect if we keep in mind how expressive it was not only of his romantic, transcendental age but also of himself. More than most men he had a kinship with light. In praising the humble bee for loving the sun and seeing only what was fair, he was writing his own biography. It would be easy to make-believe that the whole transcendental movement arrived for his special benefit, he was so at home in it.

The best metaphor for Emerson I can think of is that of the landscape painter. He paints sun-flooded landscapes of the spirit. If we complain that he gives us too little twilight, cloud, and storm, the answer is he preferred clear mornings and translucent afternoons. His clouds, as he says in his journal of the clouds of Egypt, are never for rain. If we complain that even his shadows, like those of the French Impressionists, are full of light, his answer would be that that is how they look to him. We do not ordinarily criticize a painter for his point of view. We stand beside him and try to see what he has seen. Are Emerson's landscapes true? True in the way a Van Gogh landscape is true. Not true in the way a statistical report on the weather is true.

Emerson stands for the infinite potentiality of the individual. In a day when the power of individual men is sucked into vast militant vortices, do we not need to be reminded that a single private life can still defy, when it cannot guide, the multitude; and that a man may still live heroically and die fruitfully?

Emerson glorifies the few men who fulfill themselves, and upbraids the many who fail to, the harshness of his upbraiding being in proportion to their failure. In at least one poem, "Alphonso of Castile," he frankly (and, if you will, inconsistently) blames nature for man's poor showing.

> You have tried famine: no more try it;
> Ply us now with a full diet;
>
> Earth, crowded, cries, 'Too many men!'
> My counsel is, kill nine in ten,
>
> Add their nine lives to this cat;
> Stuff their nine brains in one hat.

And in at least one other poem, "Saadi," adventuring into one more variety of inconsistency, he comes near reconciling the paradox and glorifies the inglorious:

> Those doors are men: the Pariah hind
> Admits thee to the perfect Mind.
>
> Saadi, see! they rise in stature
> To the height of mighty Nature.

It may turn out that Emerson's inconsistency, which mars his philosophy, is a chief virtue of his poetry. Instead of calling it inconsistency, call it the inclusion and only partial reconciliation of incompatible elements, and you have made Emerson into a Metaphysical Poet, a man to stand beside John Donne, a man that our modern age can wholly approve of. For our hypothetical critic (who would hate to be charged with inconsistency himself) is capable of praising both poetry that says very little and poetry that says very much (provided it is not said too openly). With his hard thought, his sharp wit, and his love of riddles, Emerson emerges surprisingly modern with only his crystal surface in his disfavor.

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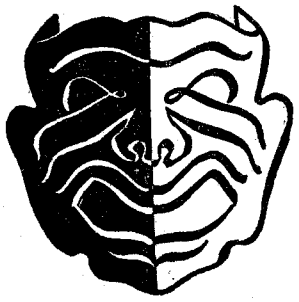
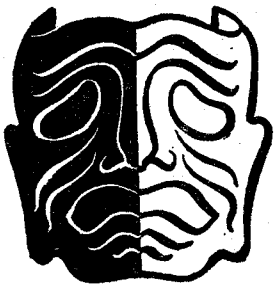


The THEATRE ARTS



by John Gassner

The waning Broadway season drew upon the resources of Shakespeare and Shaw, and it is, indeed no longer news that the English-speaking theatre is being nourished these days by the two streams one would have been least likely to couple together a generation or two ago. One may observe that Shaw himself encouraged the dissociation with his early assaults on "Bardolatry" and his animadversions on Shakespeare's thinking. But this would be putting a rather simple-minded construction on Shavian criticism, and would be overlooking Shaw's polemical objective of championing Ibsen and clearing the way for modern drama. We should not, actually, underestimate Shaw's flagrant linking of his name with that of England's leading dramatist. Shaw, we will recall, did not hesitate to write that he was convinced that Shakespeare was very like himself; "in fact," he added, "if I had been born in 1556 instead of 1856, I should have taken to blank verse and given Shakespeare a harder run for his money than all the other Elizabethans together."

Shaw has indeed given the "bard," whom he at one time wanted "barred," a run for his money this season with three productions as against the Elizabethan's two. Unfortunately this season's triple threat consisting of *Man and Superman, John Bull's Other Island,* and *You Never Can Tell* came up against two such stalwarts as *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Macbeth.* We cannot say more than that the two men are bracketed in our minds because they continue to be theatrically alive while many playwrights who once engaged our interest are already moribund. Although neither the Theatre Incorporated's *Macbeth* nor the Theatre Guild's *You Never Can Tell* could be heralded without distinct reservation, their absence from the boards would have left the spring season considerably the poorer.

I hope that the country as a whole, and not merely New York, will have an opportunity to see this *Macbeth.* The physical production by itself would be worth noting because it demonstrates how easy it is to produce Shakespeare without pageantry, awkward scenic transitions, and the general impression of an anodyne for the public. Norris Houghton, the brilliant young man who directed the play, has wisely refrained from treating it as if he were exhuming a classic and purveying "culture." Shakespeare was no classic for the Elizabethan groundlings, and it is not to be assumed that they took his plays as salubrious doses of culture.

The action and passion rise nakedly on Paul Sheriff's unconfining steps and ramps. Making short shrift of classicism and artiness, Michael Redgrave and Flora Robson deliver athletic performances appropriate to an account of murder, usurpation, and tyranny, while Whitfield Connor's sturdy Macduff, the honest patriot and the main instrument of retribution, gives an equal zest to the resistance provoked by their crimes. The spirit of this interpretation is carried out in the unglamorous costumes, the sharply accented stage business (such as Macbeth's frantic clutching of the daggers), the groupings that serve a function instead of constituting pretty tableaux, the music, and especially the lighting. Mr. Houghton avoided penumbral effects for the mere purpose of daubing moods on a drama that carries its atmosphere in the words and the action. The result is an unadorned eleventh century chronicle rather than a latter-

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day evocation of old ghosts who frighten no one. The drama achieves immediacy precisely to the degree that the primitive Macbeth of the production is one of the spectres that have been haunting our twentieth century world.

After so much praise it may be ungracious, as well as contradictory, to enter demurrers, and none would be offered if Shakespeare's *Macbeth* were nothing more than what the production gives us. If we knew no more about the play than appears in this production, we might at most complain of some awkwardness in Michael Redgrave's Malcolm. *Macbeth* is, however, a dramatic poem as well as a melodrama, and the insufficiency of Mr. Redgrave's readings is a major blemish. The hero of the play may be a rugged Scottish chieftain, but he is also an extremely impressionable, imaginative, and reflective character. Outwardly Mr. Redgrave comes closer to making a convincing Macbeth than, let us say, Maurice Evans did, but he quite misses the inner man. Even more serious a limitation is evident in Flora Robson's Lady Macbeth, who is evil incarnate but little else. Lacking femininity in any of her early scenes, unless a nagging disposition is construed as femininity, Miss Robson makes it difficult for us to believe that Lady Macbeth could have disintegrated so completely in mind and spirit. Lacking voluptuousness, she makes it difficult for us to believe that a warm relationship exists between her and Macbeth. This leaves inexplicable her hold on him as well as his desperation over her illness and death. She can hardly have inspired the "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased" and "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow" speeches that form the crest of Shakespeare's tragic wave. Melodrama overwhelms tragedy in this production, and thus leaves the play with only half of its splendor.

Less injury was sustained by Shaw from the Theatre Guild production of *You Never Can Tell,* and perhaps it would have mattered less if the injury had been even more felonious, since this is not one of Shaw's major works and he himself regarded it as little better than a potboiler. Nevertheless a potboiler by him is a *chef-d'oeuvre* for most of his contemporaries, and it is regretful that the production could not do better by G.B.S. Although Shaw hid his light under the very old bushel of a plot composed of mistaken identities, relying as he did on a story of three youngsters' discovery of their father in a very Victorian fussbudget, Crampton, enough light comes out of the barrel to illuminate the stage.

You Never Can Tell is a much wittier play than is generally realized, and the love affair of the unsentimental young dentist, Valentine, and the resolutely modern daughter of an early feminist, Gloria, is one of Shaw's happiest inventions. Nor does this early farce lack the heady kind of wisdom that the teetotalling sage has been distilling for half a century. We need only recall the little last-act conversation in which the terrifyingly clever lawyer Bohun is asked by Crampton whether he doesn't consider the match between Gloria and Valentine unwise. Bohun replies: "Yes, I do: all marriages are unwise. It's unwise to be born; it's unwise to be married; it's unwise to live; and it's wise to die." To which Bohun's father, the Waiter, adds: "Then, if I may respectfully put a word in, sir, so much the worse for wisdom." It is also doubtful that any modernist exclusive of Strindberg and D. H. Lawrence has spoken so well on feminism as when he makes the enlightened Mrs. Clandon remark that "Women have to unlearn the false good manners of their slavery before they acquire the genuine good manners of their freedom." Above all, however, we must reckon up the delight he has managed to communicate through the confusion of the family reared by a "modern" mother when modernism was rampant, and through the strident conservatism of the father whose Victorian course was charted the moment he learned in childhood that "most things that were good for me were nasty."

The truth is that Shaw wrote *You Never Can Tell* with his own mind but with W. S. Gilbert's spirit. The latter obscures the mettle of the former for people who cannot distinguish between contrivance that results from ineptitude and contrivance deliberately embraced for purposes of stylization. Shaw could hardly take Victorian domestic relations seriously enough to write domestic drama in the sober vein of Henry Arthur Jones and Pinero, concerning whose problem plays Gilbert Norwood once wrote that they turned the Deca-

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logue into a monologue on sex. There was every reason for Shaw's electing to turn handsprings with the domestic problem once he was convinced that there were more important matters. If he had had an Arthur Sullivan at his elbow he might have written *You Never Can Tell* as an *opera bouffe*.

That he didn't is perhaps the true measure of the shortcomings of the Guild production which made skittishness and coyness the dominant tone, in addition to turning the testy *pater familias* into a heavy-footed, heavy-witted caricature, which in his case is tantamount to caricaturing a caricature. (It is incredible that his family should ever want him when it finds him.) Only the infallible Leo Carroll was completely master of the play, and his memorable Waiter gave the production whatever solidity it possessed. Although several other characters were cast well enough (Frieda Inescort as Mrs. Clandon and William Devlin as lawyer Bohun were particularly well chosen), the direction made bouncing dolls of some of them, stiff puppets of others, and generally kept the performances at the periphery of a play rather than inside it. Somehow the Shaw who masqueraded through the production seemed robbed of his virility except when Bohun took the stage, and to do this to Shaw is one of the seven deadly sins one can commit in the theatre. (There is an eighth, too, and it is not playing Shaw at all!) Besides, the naïveté of the production did not accord very well with the serpentine lines of the text after the first act, and the naïveté itself was too plainly pretended to be gratifying.

There is indeed a place for naïveté in the theatre, as there is in life, provided it is genuine. This is the case and explains the modest success of Gertrude Berg's genre picture of lower middle-class Jewish life, *Molly and Me*. Considered strictly as a play it is awkward and inexpert, and its story of a poor workingman's efforts to go into business offers few excitements. It is a bread-and-butter story, plot, and drama. But bread has its savor, and Miss Berg's matter is genuine enough to be appealing even if it is salted with too many easy malapropisms of the Potash and Perlmutter or "Education of Hyman Kaplan" variety. The author has exhibited, in the main, a resolute and earnest simplicity that agrees with her characters. They are, besides, real people to her, and she makes them real people for us with able assistance from her own acting of the part of Molly and Philip Loeb's performance as her aberrant and dreamy husband. This is low-brow drama throughout, soap-opera even, and it indulges in a familiar mixture of comic-strip humor and sentimentality. Yet somehow one never senses that the author and the actors are on the outside drawing the picture and laying on the folk color. They are not only inside the picture, they *are* the picture. This does not of course make *Molly and Me* a memorable play, and no one will call it dramatic literature. But its ingenuous humanity sets it above many better constructed plays, including those plays in which the simplicities are being celebrated by someone who is foreign to them and probably fancies himself superior to them.

This last was the main fault of both the writing and the production of the Experimental Theatre's *Temporary Island* by Halstead Welles, a play in which the president of a late nineteenth century girl's seminary falls in love with a circus and its chief feminine attraction. It was plain that the author and director (they were the same person) didn't really love a circus, and the professor's fancy shared this lack of conviction. In fact, the circus was so dreary that it could hardly be considered an improvement over the dreary girls' seminary. Neither the escape from the seminary nor the return to it, which are the high points of the play, could prove particularly absorbing because both were indifferently experienced. Perhaps a rather gelid performance by Vera Zorina as the beautiful bareback rider accounts in part for this impression. Perhaps a pall was cast on the circus environment by the remarkable acting of Ernest Truex, whose shabby and melancholy clown was too true for comfort, too forbidding for romantic feelings about circus life. I should, however, end these animadversions by saying that I would not have considered them worth making but for the talent displayed in the writing of the play and the importance of having the worthy Experimental Theatre succeed as often as possible.

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The Mountains in Motion

I lie here now, and they come back to me,
The azure sudden hills of the deep sea.

For the dark mid-sea is never a plain
But changing mountains under sun and rain.

You look at a deep valley full of lawns,
And it is a great mountain built of bronze.

The mountain is but barely built up steep
When it's a deep dell full of dim blue sleep.

The flocks of Mother Carey chickens sink,
They are lost in the wild waste, you think.

And out they come all twinkling with good will,
They have only been behind a hill.

Every different loveliness is there,
But each is cousin to creative air.

Nothing ever can be long confined
But changes to a quick unearthly kind.

Each must be all and all take every form,
The clouds give light, the sunlight falls like storm.

I think those ocean hills are made of me,
I think behind my eyes there is the sea.

Never do two good shapes remain the same;
I see wild geese are plows of Spring and tame.

A white, an innocent cool-feathered bird
Becomes love's urgent colter, the red sword.

A boy at play with thighs of smallest span
Is a fierce and sudden full-blown man.

A stout father on love's razor rim
Becomes a little sad boy lost from him.

These are the laws of living and right motion;
We brought them up when we crept from the ocean.

—ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

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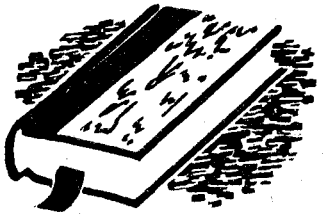

JASPER R. LEWIS

Books in brief

An attempt to demonstrate that there must be a constructive force in the German population, despite two wars, is made in *Unknown Germany,* by Hanna Hafkesbrink (Yale University, $2.50). The author calls it an inner chronicle of the First World War, based on letters and diaries, chiefly from German soldiers at the fronts to their families and friends.

This is the First World War and, of course, the German emperor, chancellor, and other leaders immediately called it a "defensive war." At first there was acclaim and enthusiasm; later, as the war dragged, weariness and despair. Miss Hafkesbrink thinks the enthusiasm came from a sense of release; that for generations since 1870 the German people had been building up for a fall, prophesied by poets and philosophers alike. Nietzsche, Stefan George, and others foresaw and warned of a "world-shaking convulsion" even at the peak of German triumph.

The first quotations show a belief in a great German destiny, hope for victory and conquest. Later, the trend is toward the soldiers' understanding of their opponents. Because the letters are from privates and not officers, the author feels they represent the masses. In fact, it is probably true that they do, for the reader's deduction is simple: Fritz and G.I. Joe are a good deal alike under their uniforms, and if left alone would hardly go to war. Possibly Ivan likewise. But the leaders, emperors, chancellors, and others call the tune, while the soldiers at the front quickly learn the hollowness of military glory.

That the same disillusioned men could be victims of a new hierarchy of rulers seemed unlikely when one Gerrit Engelke could write: "The gigantic industrialism which has grown up in the last decades all over Europe now seeks in blind bestiality to destroy itself. May this suicide be complete so that out of the ruins of Europe new life will come tor mankind." (It came, 25 years later, with Hitler!)

That there were Germans then who detested war is not news. If we do not learn what makes the Germans tick, we do gain by the realization that people are much alike, given a chance to be themselves. If Miss Hafkesbrink were not at Connecticut College one might infer she was pleading for pure socialism and the elimination of rulers, leaders, and politicians of all sorts.

The subtitle of *The Abuse of Learning,* by Frederic Lilge (Macmillan, $2.75), is "The Failure of the German University." With jacket references to the capitulation of these seats of learning to the Nazis, this seemed a possible source of information on understanding German youth. Unfortunately, while Dr. Lilge offers a treatise on the several schools of philosophic thought in German university history, from about 1700 on, there is little solid fact on why the universities and their faculties surrendered to Hitlerism. In fact, it might be that Lilge is searching for something that isn't there.

He does show, somewhat ponderously, the changing principles and practices of the historical periods. These reflected the mores of their times, and the references to the opinions and writings of Hegel, Fichte, Nietzsche, Spengler, Kierkegaard, and others relate the theories of the philosophers. Particularly in the case of Fichte is there a rather detailed study of the goals and duties of the schools. These, however, show the basic purposes, without touching the actual lives of the students.

Lilge, too, has some pet ideas of his own. Writing of the late nineteenth century "gospel of the omnipotence of science," he says these men—Buchner, Vogt, Moleschott—"succeeded in promoting among certain sections of the people—notably among intelligent workingmen

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—a lasting hostility toward orthodox Christianity. In time this allied itself with Marxism." He is here writing, not of Russia, but Germany.

Throughout these expositions of the various theories, however, the emphasis remains on opinion. The application of these beliefs to everyday practices is barely touched upon. Indeed, to blame the universities for Hitlerism would require a stretch of imagination. It is in his epilogue, after these discourses, that Lilge insists that the universities had ample warning of the approaching crisis and should have prepared for militant resistance. It is difficult to see how they could have withstood the might and ruthlessness of the Hitler mob, and it is not for us to judge whether German professors should have remained in Germany combating Nazism by word of mouth. Lilge admits that it was aggravated economic conditions, manipulated by conscienceless demagogues, that caused the destruction of Germany. The failure of the schools was part and parcel of the complete moral relapse. It might be that some investigator would find much to cavil at in our own colleges. The one definite conclusion again is that human nature is much the same the world over.

BRIEFER COMMENT

WORLD AFFAIRS

While *The Question of German Guilt,* by Karl Jaspers (Dial, $2.00), is a series of lectures bearing on the title, there are remarks in it which may throw light on understanding German mentality in the early days of the recent war. The author delivered these lectures at Heidelberg University after Hitler's fall. Jaspers suggests that young men went into the army because at that time the army opposed Hitlerism, even if ineffectively. Again, he says of the treaty in 1935 between England and Germany: "The British abandon the German people for the sake of peace with Hitler." It is more than a question of guilt, it adds its mite to much needed understanding.

Fritz Sternberg discusses the very real present world crisis in *How to Stop the Russians Without War* (John Day, $2.00), and offers some suggestions. He evidently does not favor a return to the old German management of industry. The prescription seems largely industrial and economic aid, supported by diplomatic pressures and a united and independent Europe. The latter means supporting democratic socialist forces, not only as a means of restoring Europe to normalcy, but as creating an adequate barrier to Russian expansion. Sternberg believes "the social and economic basis for liberal free enterprise no longer exists." There is the key to his program.

George E. Jones was India correspondent for *The New York Times* in 1946-1947. Based on observations and his despatches to his paper is his *Tumult in India* (Dodd, Mead, $3.00). This not only reviews the two sides of the controversy, Indian and British, but goes into the political set up of the country, the British background, and the more or less chaotic conditions following announcement of British withdrawal. Jones also gives quite a bit of information on native customs and economic conditions.

Fallen Sun, a Report on Japan, by Noel F. Busch (Appleton-Century, $2.50), is a record and interpretation of our occupation of Japan since V-J Day. In addition to his praise of MacArthur's work, Busch tells about the Japanese people and their attempts to find themselves. He describes the commercial world, the zaibatsu, and for the popular side the geisha. There is also recognition of the Russians as a factor in Japan.

BIOGRAPHICAL

Here is the unusual. *Stranger in the Earth,* by Thomas Sugrue (Holt, $4.00), is called "the story of a search." It is the autobiographical outpouring of a brilliant mind, concerned with the spiritual and intellectual values of life, but only if of value to the human being. The author, an Irish-American Catholic, discusses religious and material problems with "the professor,"—the clock in the diathermic room where Sugrue was trying to sweat out a crippling fever. There is warmth and beauty, but not a bit of self-indulging pathos. It is outstanding and fine, not to be missed by seekers after intelligent ideas.

The Journal of Eugene Delacroix, trans-

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lated from the French by Walter Pach, (Crown, $5.00), is the intimate life of the great painter. On the one hand are his personal experiences, with business and with love affairs; interwoven are the thoughts and efforts connected with his chosen métier and suggestions by way of diary notes for self-improvement. One hundred illustrations, some in colors, add to the value of the book.

FICTION

The Time Is Noon, by Hiram Haydn (Crown, $3.50), is a panorama of youth only a generation ago, with a background shifting from Florida to New York, Boston, and elsewhere. There is the familiar fast set, with something going on in every chapter. Too, there is the young Russian-Jewish intellectual, the strong character in the book, with his sociology; there are the ever questing females of the species. If there is a fault it is that there is too much story, but most of it is real stuff about real people.

The Temptations of Mourad, by Lucienne Favre, translated by Willard Trask (Morrow, $3.00), is a confessional type of novel, about the life of Mourad, a Moslem shepherd boy, student, and seeker after happiness in love. The Algerian background gives color, and the narrative, of course, is full of "temptations."

A romance of England in the times of "Bloody" Mary Tudor, *The Strong Room,* by Jere H. Wheelwright (Scribner's, $3.00), has duelling, a prisoner in the London Tower, the plague and, of course, true love. It is fiction of the escape type, but somehow agreeable if you have a liking for the romances of knighthood.

Brooklyn in fiction again. *The Great Blizzard,* by Albert E. Idell (Holt, $3.00), refers to that famous year of 1888. The characters are the Rogers family, previously chronicled by Idell. Here are average people living average lives of the period, climaxed by the big snow, and its effects on the people. Light entertainment of yesterday.

Robert Payne by now should be accepted as an authoritative writer on the Orient. *The Yellow Robe* (Dodd, Mead, $3.00), is a fictional biography of Prince Siddhartha, better known to the world by his later title of Buddha. The youth of the Prince was both philosophic and riotous, in the fashion of the day. There is tenderness and passion, and in the latter portion a spiritual atmosphere essential to such a title.

The Queen's Physician, by Edgar Maas, (Scribner's, $3.00), is the story of Christian VII of Denmark and Norway in the late eighteenth century, or more correctly, of Johan Struensee, a commoner who became the royal doctor. Maas makes you forget it is fiction. Here and there the story falters over a little too much historical fact.

Gilbert W. Gabriel offers a pleasant novel of the world of the late 1780's. *I Thee Wed* (Macmillan, $3.00), starts in Paris and moves to colonial America. There is the France of Marie Antoinette and the Revolution; later the dangerous background of our wilderness.

Reluctant Rebel, by Frederic F. Van de Water (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.50), is an adventure story of early America. Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain boys fighting the Yorkers for the Grants, the taking of Ti, mixed in with love interest, fill the bill for a pleasant novel of colonial times.

MISCELLANEOUS

Unpleasant and brutal is the story of the Pendergast machine and its workings in Kansas City. Maurice M. Milligan, the former United States Attorney for that Missouri district, was the man who broke the gang and saw Pendergast jailed. *The Inside Story of the Pendergast Machine by the Man Who Smashed It* (Scribner's, $3.50), is Milligan's story. President Truman comes in for some shellacking as a protegee of the Boss, and he and the author are political enemies. As a result the book is full of firecrackers.

In this election year one must expect direct assaults on candidates and parties. *Henry Wallace,* The Man and the Myth, by Dwight MacDonald (Vanguard, $2.50), will be a delight to the anti-Wallace citizens, even if a tender subject for Wallace admirers. This book is an elaboration of magazine articles; at times it is cynical and sometimes bitter, but all through it is denunciatory of Wallace, his principles, and his actions. One brief example, referring to Wallace's good will mission to China: ("Wallace is the ideal envoy for such empty pilgrimages.") "Never has one man learned so little from so much travel."

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All Manner of Men, by Malcolm Ross (Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.50), is a forthright condemnation of racial bias in America. Ross was chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee for three years and knows the subterfuges and evasions by which equality is denied Negroes and others. He brightens his story with occasional humor and even satire.

The story of Florida goes with *Lake Okeechobee,* by Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna (Bobbs-Merrill, $4.00), the latest in the American Lakes Series. As is usual in the series, the tale gains interest from being told in terms of its people, the pioneers, settlers, and later residents. The Seminole Indians and early fights over the land, early colonization, and recent land booms make lively reading. Wild life comes in for its share of discussion, including the battle with Secretary Ickes over elimination of the tick.

Africa, I Presume? by Alan Reeve (Macmillan, $3.00), suffers only from its jacket's boast that the author spent all of 19 weeks in an air trip over Africa in 1945. Without seeking for learned remarks on the country or its problems, Reeve manages to convey some interesting impressions of the natives and their ways in an informal manner. Illustrations by the author help make an enjoyable if light travelogue.

Some brief sketches of the post-war days of veterans, disabled and otherwise, make up a rather powerful volume of protest, *The Best Is None Too Good,* by Ralph G. Martin (Farrar, Straus, $3.50). Some originally appeared in magazines. Of course, the Jim Crow question has its place with the many other gripes of our returned veterans. Martin, without pointing, shows how short public gratitude is.

The Milwaukee Road, Its First 100 Years, by August Derleth (Creative Age, $4.00), is the third volume of the Railroads of America Series. It is full of exciting moments; it was the railroad against which Debs led striking Pullman employees, and it was the road that saw 103-mile steam locomotives. In between are the beginnings of the road, its finances, growth, battles of the capitalists for control, and the part the road played in the development of the Northwest.

An excellent and readable story of the growth of Russia is *The March of Muscovy,* by Harold Lamb (Doubleday, $3.75). It is about the period of Ivan the Terrible, but gives the beginnings of Moscow and the empire. While in narrative form and without fictional aids, the book is in Lamb's usual bright and moving style.

The Canadian Postmaster-General has just received ten cents as conscience money from a man who admits having filled his fountain pen at Windsor Post Office, Ontario, at least once a week for the past 20 years.

The note is signed "Honest Scot," and adds: "I sent only ten cents because the ink was such poor stuff." *London Daily Mirror*

The chief of staff of the adjutant general's office in Honolulu was sedately thumbing through the usual morning's stack of routine army correspondence when his eyes were caught and held by an official order addressed directly to him from the commanding general of the theatre. He was to investigate immediately the "most hideous misinterpretation of military justice ever recorded," which had been committed by Lieutenant Green of the A.G. office.

The colonel threw open the door of the lieutenant's office and yelled: "For heaven's sake, what kind of punishment did you tell the provost marshal's office that you had meted out to Private Jones for his driving over 35 miles per hour?"

The lieutenant calmly replied: "Well, sir, he had condemned every punishment as being too lenient, so I simply acknowledged receipt of Jones' speeding ticket and said we had him shot." *Foreign Service*

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COUNTRY COMMENT

As a poor free lance, unsalaried, unsubsidized, and barely earning the privilege of paying a federal income tax, I am always touched when my alma mater, Harvard, comes to me each year for financial support. If I am not in a position to be generous, I can at least appreciate her generous gestures. She who is constantly receiving princely benefactions from Wall Street and State Street is not indifferent, say what her critics will, to the humble existence of Market Hill Road. She wants me to feel included.

Though more often than not I cannot contribute, I invariably receive a booklet giving the names of the men who do. I like the democratic spirit of this, and the fact that it is the number of contributors and not the size of the contributions that she values. Only the names are listed, not the gifts.

The booklet for 1946, *Harvard Fund Council, Twenty-First Annual Report,* lies before me. Ordinarily one would not keep such a report beyond the current year, but I was unwilling to lose certain testimonials that the booklet contains. On page ten an anonymous donor is quoted as saying, "Because of Harvard I have had a full and happy life." And in the same box another testifies, "Everything I have, all I enjoy in life, my very existence, I owe to Harvard." That tribute could stand beside Lincoln's "All that I am or hope to be I owe to my angel mother."

Have I taken Harvard too much for granted? Have I been thoughtless, selfish, indifferent? Have I sought to justify my ingratitude with such short-sighted and even irrelevant reflections as that most Harvard men, unlike some men in other parts of the world, are not suffering from hunger and that the Harvard undergraduates are not having to go barefoot for want of shoes? If I loved Harvard as much as I ought to love her, would I not be able to scrape together a few dollars each year in her support even as I am scraping together some second-hand shoes for a destitute family in Europe?

My trouble goes deeper than Harvard. I might as well make a clean breast of it. During the 25 years since my graduation, individual people have come to mean more and more to me while institutions have come to mean less and less. Individual values have deepened like the lines in a maturing face, while institutional values have faded like ink on an old parchment. Though I well know that institutions were founded by people and for people and can exist only through people, my perverse dichotomy persists. A few men and women, though an ever-increasing few, constantly surprise, refresh, and inspire me with their force and beauty. At a time when no one asks me to die, when there is no occasion for dying, I hear myself saying to myself, "I would die for that friend." Why is it that I never feel like dying for an institution?

Yet there is no question that Harvard is lovable. One has only to think of the historic halls old with ivy and tradition, of the elms in the yard and the squirrels in the elms, and, on a fine spring day, of the slender rowing shells rippling the river.

ROBERT FRANCIS

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YES!

By HORACE WALLINGFORD

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Parliamenta

AT this moment in the world's history there are two large functioning democracies: the United States and Great Britain. The latter, and older, has a parliamentary system of government, while the United States has a so-called "presidential" one.

Now, government in a democracy must be based on the will of the majority. In other words, the electorate must be able to control the officers of the government and, through these officers, enforce its desires.

It has become increasingly evident that the parliarmentary system in Great Britain is far more responsive to the electorate; that it permits far greater control by the voters; and that it is in every way more pliable, more elastic, than its American counterpart. Today, democracy is being challenged on every hand, and tomorrow it may even meet its most crucial test. Surely, then, the more democratic, more responsive governmental system will best stand this strain and will best guard the interests of the greatest number. This is in essence my viewpoint.

But some consideration of the nature of governmental power is necessary for a true understanding of the differences between parliamentary and presidential forms of government. Various analyses of governmental functions have been made by political thinkers since the days of Aristotle and the functions which have been distinguished have been differently defined. The analysis most generally accepted differentiates three functions: namely, the legislative, which may be defined as the formulation of policy; the executive, which is the supervision of the carrying out of that policy, and the judicial, which is the application of law to particular disputes.

The American system of government as outlined in the Constitution reflects these three functions; three separate departments of government execute them. Thus, in theory, Congress makes the laws, the President carries them out, and the courts interpret them. Furthermore, there is an elaborate system of checks and balances which supposedly prevents undue power in any one department. Thus the independent position of the executive, legislature, and judiciary is to check any tendency of one agency to dominate the other. Again, Congressmen and the President are independently elected by and are responsible to the electorate and not to each other. Naturally enough, the three departments' functions overlap and are co-ordinated one with the other. Thus, the treaty making and appointing power of the President is shared with the Senate and the legislative function of the Congress may be checked by the President's veto. In actual fact, however, the presidential system in the United States sometimes leads to congressional dominance and sometimes to presidential, depending on the era and the men involved.

On the other hand, the parliamentary system of government, as developed in Great Britain, is not restricted by any such artificial separation of powers. Rather, the British system presupposes an executive power which leads in determining policy; a legislature which checks that executive through the latter's responsibility to it; and, underlying this system, a balance of power between the legislature and the executive, in order that neither may completely control the government. The popularly elected House of Commons in turn elects the members of the Cabinet, who function as the executives only so long as the Commons give them its confidence.

By Montesquieu a strange error of analysis, had asserted that the virtue (of the British system) was to be found in the separation of powers. Walter Bagehot (*The English Constitution*) was much closer to the truth when he declared that the great secret of the British system is "the close union, the nearly com-

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JM: Turn to Government?

IT has become fashionable among political scientists and columnists in recent years to decry the American system of government, to bemoan the confines of the Constitution, to speak learnedly of the blessings of British parliamentarianism. True enough, the Constitution is no Bible, nor are the words of the Constitution framers to be taken as an eternal revelation. Yet I maintain that the advantages of the presidential system far outweigh its obvious defects, and that for the United States, it is today, the better of the two forms of democratic government.

Naturally enough, those who favor the policy of the administration during a deadlock with Congress would like to assign the checks and balance system to Limbo, and those who support Congressional policy when the executive veto operates see clearly the advantages of parliamentary rule. A temporary impasse on foreign aid, or on domestic tax policies, evokes a storm of protest against our form of government. The self-appointed critics rarely if ever pause to reflect that the same system that blocks their pet reforms also delays the measures of the opposition, and that in every case it affords a cooling off period, and a time for educating public opinion, which is invaluable for moderate democracy.

Despite the obvious advantages of the parliamentary system, it has grave defects which may endanger democracy itself.

I maintain this premise despite agreement with my opponent in several respects. First of all, there can be no disagreement among friends of democracy on his opening sentences:

"Government in a democracy must be based on the will of the majority. In other words, the electorate must be able to control the officers of the government and, through these officers, enforce its desires."

Secondly, there is no arguing the fact that

NO!

By CAROL L. THOMPSON

the parliamentary system, in theory, is more elastic, more responsive to the electorate, than the presidential system.

Why, then, is the presidential form outlined in the Constitution better for the United States today? What are the "grave defects" of the parliamentary system?

Even in Great Britain, "Mother of Parliaments," the actual working out of parliamentary government today is not at all as my opponent imagines it; in other countries unfortunate enough to have copied the British form, democracy has lost out to dictatorship—to dictatorship made easy by the defects of the parliamentary system. My opponent, while speaking realistically of the defects of the American government, employs no such realism in his description of the British form. Bagehot's analysis, which he quotes so devastatingly, is in its way as complete a distortion of facts as was Montesquieu's. A more clear-sighted discussion would describe the British system differently.

BRITISH SYSTEM

First of all, the government of Great Britain is monarchical in nature; that is, the King is the titular head of the government. Although it is true enough that the British King today has really only power "to advise and to warn," the stabilizing influence of the Crown cannot be overemphasized. As I shall prove later, the parliamentary system without the Crown becomes a different form of government altogether.

In the second place, the government of Great Britain is not based on a written constitution. Some written documents, common law, and custom provide the outline for the British government as it exists today. There is no constitutional protection for the British citizen as we have it; no Supreme Court as a final check on arbitrary use of power. The ties of unwritten law in Great Britain are strong enough to protect the average citizen, yet I

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plete fusion, of the executive and legislative powers." Thus, the Cabinet, as he so rightly realized, is in reality "a committee of the legislative body selected to be the executive body." If then the Commons votes against measures sponsored by the Cabinet, that body can no longer function. Two courses are then open to it: (1) it may resign; or, (2) it may on its own initiative have the King order the Commons dissolved and call for a new parliamentary election. This gives the voters the opportunity to decide whether the Cabinet or the Commons has its approval on the particular issue at stake. In other words, as Bagehot declared: "The English system, therefore, is not an absorption of the executive power by the legislative power; it is a fusion of the two. Either the Cabinet legislates and acts, or else it can dissolve. It is a creature, but it has the power of destroying its creators. It is an executive which can annihilate the legislature, as well as an executive which is the nominee of the legislature."

Bagehot's clear-sighted analysis extended to a critique of the American system. As he saw it, the chief characteristic of our presidential government was: "the President is elected from the people by one process and the House of Representatives by another. The independence of the legislative and executive powers is the specific quality of the presidential government, just as their fusion and combination is the precise principle of Cabinet government."

DEFECTS

Once the differences between the presidential and parliamentary system become clear, the advantages of the parliamentary system are almost obvious. The doctrine of the separation of powers, carried to its extreme in the Constitution of the United States, is impractical at best. Bagehot himself summed up the greatest defects of the presidential system as follows:

"If the persons who have to do the work are not the same as those who have to make the laws, there will be a controversy between the two sets of persons. . . . The executive becomes unfit for its name since it cannot execute what it decides on; the legislature is demoralized by liberty, by taking decisions of which others (and not itself) will suffer the effects." Responsibility for any particular policy can hardly be fixed; disagreements between legislature and president lead to deadlock. "When a difference of opinion arises, the legislature is forced to fight the executive, and the executive is forced to fight the legislature, and so very likely they contend to the conclusion of their respective terms."

All politically conscious Americans are aware of the frequent deadlocks which block our governmental processes, particularly when, as now, the President and the Congressional majority are on opposite sides of the political fence. Nor have American writers failed to note the difficulties mentioned by Bagehot. In an article written for *Harpers* as long ago as 1923, Frank I. Cobb of the *New York World* pointed up this problem:

> The government of the United States cannot function at all in respect to policy when the President and a majority of Congress happen to belong to different parties. Neither can it function in respect to policy when the House and the Senate happen to be under different party control, which is by no means infrequent. The government can continue to perform the routine functions of administration; but for the rest, it is deadlocked, until one side or another can win a decisive victory at the polls. When the victory is won, there is seldom general agreement in interpreting the meaning of the ballot: and there is always the Senate [only one third of which can come up for any one election].

Elections, furthermore, occur constitutionally at fixed intervals and only at such intervals. Should a political crisis arise between elections, it is impossible for the people to express their wishes; and it is also impossible to remove from office men who are not in tune with the desires of the majority. An American President remains in office for four years, despite the possibility that his policies may run counter to the wishes of the electorate and despite possible incapability. Nothing short of impeachment can force his removal, and the success of such impeachment is highly unlikely. Only one American President has ever been impeached (Andrew Johnson) and his impeachment did not result in conviction.

In this connection Woodrow Wilson, be-

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fore he entered the American political arena, made some interesting comments:

> Nothing short of a well-nigh impossible impeachment can unmake a President, except four successions of the seasons. . . . A Prime Minister must keep himself in favor with the majority, a President need only keep alive. . . .
>
> Great crimes such as might speed even impeachment, are not ordinary things in the loosest public service. . . . That which usually and every day clogs and hampers good government is folly or incapacity on the part of the ministers of state. Even more necessary, therefore, than a power clothed with authority to accuse, try, and punish for public crime, is some ultimate authority, whose privilege it shall be to dismiss for inefficiency. . . . The crying inconvenience of our system is . . . . that the constitutional authority whose prerogative it is to direct policy and oversee administration has fewer facilities for getting its work well done than has the humblest citizen for obtaining satisfactory aid in his own undertakings.

Furthermore, the issues in presidential and congressional elections, are almost never clear. For example, could an election have been held on Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, the vote would probably have been overwhelmingly affirmative. As it was, the votes of the Senate, or, more precisely, of a small group of Senators, were sufficient to wreck the long-term foreign policy of the United States, *regardless of public opinion.* Under a parliamentary system, the president could have dissolved the legislature and let the electorate choose for itself for its foreign policy.

The 1948 presidential election also provides a case in point. No single issue can or will be clarified by the vote this coming November. Some voters will choose a candidate because of his domestic policies and some because of his foreign views. Some will vote Republican because they have always been Republicans; others because they hope to gain political favors from a Republican victory; still others simply because they believe in rotation in office. In no case will the election illuminate public opinion on E.R.P., the Marshall Plan, the coal strike or social security legislation,—to mention but a few current issues.

Furthermore, the presidential system in the United States tends to advance the election of inferior men both to Congress and to the Presidency. Whereas in Britain any member of Parliament may hope to achieve Cabinet rank, in the United States a Representative looks forward to no such possibility. In Britain, what is more, the Prime Minister, chosen by his parliamentary colleagues, is usually the leader of his party and a member of Parliament. His qualifications for office are in general obvious to the Commons and to the electorate. In the United States, on the other hand, many a presidential candidate is a so-called dark horse, an "unknown quantity," chosen by a small group of politicians to run for the highest office in the country. The disadvantages of this system are obvious.

Let us review the weaknesses of the American system of government in terms of the current international crisis. First of all, Democratic administration today faces a potentially hostile Republican legislature. Deadlock on European policy is being avoided only by the efforts of forward-looking Republican Congressmen. Deadlock on domestic policy cannot be avoided. Of this, the tax problem is a case in point. Secondly, because of the independent powers of the legislature and the executive, each is able to blame the other for mistakes in public policy. Continuing inflation, for example, is currently blamed on the President by Congress; and vice versa; and by each political party on the other. No such "buck passing" would be possible under the British parliamentary system, where the majority party in the Commons would elect the Prime Minister and hold his Cabinet responsible to itself. Thirdly, no single issue can be appealed to the electorate, which should in a democracy be the final judge. For example, universal military training is a vital problem for every American; yet until next November no voter can readily make his opinion count. And even the November elections will not really clarify American public opinion because other controversies will cloud the issue. What is even more serious, not every Senator and Representative will stand for election in November; and fixed Constitutional terms will enable some to hold their seats regardless of changes in public opinion.

Fixed terms, finally, prevent that elasticity

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which democracy needs today if it is to defeat the forces working against it. Perhaps Bagehot summed up the defects of the American form of government most clearly in 1867:

> The American government calls itself a government of the supreme people; but at a quick crisis, the time when a sovereign power is most needed, you cannot *find* the supreme people. You have got a Congress elected for one fixed period, going out perhaps by fixed installments which cannot be accelerated or retarded—you have a President chosen for a fixed period, and immovable during that period. All the arrangements are for *stated* times. There is no *elastic* element; everything is rigid, specified, dated. Come what may, you can quicken nothing and can retard nothing. You have bespoken your government in advance; and whether it suits you or not, whether it works well or works ill, whether it is what you want or not, by law you must keep it.

EMERGENCY POWER

There is an even more grave criticism of our constitutional system in crisis. It's that, although the Constitution made some special provisions for war powers, it nowhere mentions emergency power. Nonetheless, it is obvious to everyone that periods of emergency, either economic (1933) or defensive (1939) require extra power for the executive, that he may be able to act more quickly in the crisis. Since the Constitution nowhere provides for such extra authority, emergency government in the United States is extra-legal and is surrounded by none of the safeguards of constitutionalism. In other words, in a crisis, the precarious balance of power between executive and legislature *must* break down, so that one agency or the other may take the initiative. So far, American history affords examples of both congressional and presidential dominance. For example, in the reconstruction period after the Civil War, the Congress of the United States dominated President Johnson without mercy, forcing him to accept the radical policies of Thaddeus Stevens and his colleagues and over-ruling almost every veto the President dared to make. On the other hand, during war emergencies, the President has always dominated the Congress. Witness Lincoln in the Civil War, Wilson in World War I, and Roosevelt in World War II. During all such periods of stress, furthermore, traditional constitutional safeguards are swept away; the national government overrules the states; and the Bill of Rights is considerably abridged. American presidential government, in other words, cannot stand up to the strain of crisis and recurrent crisis: in periods of emergency it is unconstitutionally altered to provide the necessary authority and elasticity.

Now contrast this situation with the British system. The *same* responsibility of the Cabinet to the Parliament, the *same* power of the Cabinet over the Parliament, exists at all times and is particularly important in periods of national emergency. Should a crisis occur, the British electorate is able to express itself on the crucial issue without waiting a fixed interval for the next election. Furthermore, throughout the crisis, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet must retain the confidence of Commons or risk a dissolution. Again, whereas under the American system, the checks and balances break down in an emergency, in the parliamentary system, they operate particularly well in an emergency, providing the electorate with a *continuing* check on the officers of their government.

Fundamental reform is vital to the continuation of the democratic system of government in the United States. Although Americans have been slow to recognize the necessity for constitutional change, the weaknesses of our system have long been obvious in Europe. In spite of the power and authority of the United States, it is significant that no first class European country has ever adopted the presidential form of government. Basically, our government must be made responsible to the electorate at all times. Congress and not the people should elect the executive and should be able to vote "no confidence" in him at any time. Like the British Prime Minister, the American executive should be able to dissolve the legislature in case of conflict between them, so that the sovereign people could decide basic issues. These basic changes would, of course, mean a change from presidential to parliamentary government. As Henry Hazlitt *(A New Constitution Now)* so ably puts it:

"Our present system of government, in sum, is anachronistic, inflexible, and irrespon-

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sible. It is dangerously inefficient even in time of peace and fatally inadequate for total war."

While we are still able to do so, we Americans must strengthen our own democracy to face the crucial struggle against dictatorial philosophies. Responsibility must be fixed for both domestic and foreign policies; the United States must present a unified front abroad. To accomplish this end, parliamentary government is a vital necessity.

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do not feel that they are an adequate substitute for the less flexible and more definitive Bill of Rights in the United States.

In actual fact, the unwritten law in Great Britain has not always served to protect the people against a kind of Cabinet dictatorship unrecognized by my opponent. Basic to the parliamentary system is the process of dissolution. The dissolving power in Great Britain, which is now considered a tool of democratic government, existed before the beginning of Parliament itself. The King, when he called a Parliament into being, reserved the right to dissolve it at his pleasure. Under absolute monarchs, Parliament had no rights at all, it was called and dissolved by the King, and was entirely his creature. The dissolution, then, was originally a weapon used by the King to rid himself of the legislature whenever he so desired.

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the power of dissolution was modified. When the party of the government lost control of the Parliament, the government could advise the king to dissolve it, in the hope that an election would return its own party in greater strength. Eventually the king dissolved Parliament only on the advice of his ministers.

Gradually, then, the Cabinet inherited the power to ask for dissolution and the dissolution became its most powerful weapon for maintaining its power. True enough, it can be and frequently is used to determine the wishes of the electorate on a particular issue, as my opponent maintains. But what my opponent fails to recognize is the fact that the dissolution or merely the *threat* of dissolution has been used to bind the Parliament to the Cabinet and to force it to give the Cabinet votes of confidence. My opponent speaks of the counter-right of Parliament to vote lack of confidence in the Cabinet, forcing its resignation or dissolution. But again, he does not seem to realize that few M.P.'s care to risk re-election and that most of them prefer to "play safe" and avoid such political crises. Thus when the officers of the Cabinet threaten to dissolve the Commons, they frequently force dissenting M.P.'s into line.

The dissolution is perhaps the key-note of parliamentary government; but it is also a weapon that can strike at the heart of democracy itself. To most American observers, it is almost incredible that this power is not legally or constitutionally defined in Great Britain. In the United States, where tradition and custom are not so strong, such a power would need careful delineation. Yet we shall see later that no government has yet defined written, legal safeguards for dissolution. This being the case, parliamentary government is seen to be dangerous indeed.

PARTY DICTATORSHIP

My opponent makes much of the fact that parliamentary government is more flexible, having no fixed terms of office and few fixed election dates. This very flexibility, however, is an ever-present danger in democracy. Once a powerful party gains control of Parliament and therefore of the Cabinet, it is difficult for the electorate to get to express an opinion on any issue, since neither Cabinet nor Commons has any desire to force an election. Unlike the United States, where elections are fixed regardless of the wishes of the President or of Congress, the British Parliamentary system permits Parliament to go five years before an election is legally necessary. Moreover Parliament, in an emergency, can extend its own life as it did during the war. No general election was held from 1935-1945.

The conspicuous lack of checks and balances also leads to a type of party dictatorship in Great Britain, since Cabinet and Commons work together. My opponent makes much of the fact that during emergencies in the United States, either the President or the Congress assumes extra-constitutional power. True enough. But in the United States the

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elections of 1940 and 1944 gave the electorate an opportunity to turn out the officers of their government if they wished to do so.

The parliamentary system, furthermore, seems to depend more than the presidential on stable politics; as a matter of record, it works well only in a *two-party* country. When more than two parties in any strength appear in the Parliament, cabinet support is haphazard, and chaos frequently results. The presidential form of government requires no such stability.

Notwithstanding these defects in the British system, we must agree that on the whole for Great Britain it works well enough, although I will not concede that it has proved superior to our own American government. But the greatest weakness of my opponent's argument is simply this: no country so far has succeeded in copying the British system with any success whatsoever. France, Italy, and Germany all tried to copy the British system, rather than the American. To my opponent this proves that they saw the defects of our government. To me, contrariwise, the failure of democracy in these three countries proves that the parliamentary system is weaker than the presidential in a crisis, and, also, that in any case the British system cannot be successfully duplicated elsewhere.

Why is this? Why for example, was it impossible for the framers of the Weimar constitution to safeguard the power of dissolution so that it could never threaten the very democratic Weimar Republic? Why did parliamentary government in France become *deputantism*—rule by the Chamber of Deputies?

The problem of duplicating the British system is complicated by the unique double meanings, the differences between law and fact, custom and statute, which adhere to the British government. Since the British constitution is not a single written document, but, rather, a combination of law and custom, it is difficult to ascertain constitutional and unconstitutional procedures. There are no laws on dissolution. The laws concerning the limitation of the personal power of the Crown are also inadequate as a picture of actual fact.

In fact, the whole system of parliamentary cabinet government lies outside the realm of law in Great Britain. The rules which govern parliamentary procedure, the appointment and dismissal of ministers, and the responsibility of the cabinet, are found, not in written law, but in convention, in custom. Hopeful copyists of the British parliamentary-cabinet system are guided by no constitution, no set of written statutes. Instead, they must attempt to analyze intangible tradition, and, what is even more difficult, to duplicate centuries of custom in a single written document for a different people. This has proved impossible in Germany, in France, in Italy up to the present. Why then should we assume that the United States would have better luck?

Why should the people of this country risk a change in their form of government now, at a period of crisis for democratic governments everywhere? It is not true at all that the "more responsive system of government will best guard the interests of the greatest number in the current crisis." On the contrary, it is my belief that the less responsive presidential form of government will be strongest in the emergency period we face today. Under it, no one political party will be able to assume dictatorial control; fixed terms of office and fixed election periods will force the administration to bow to the wishes of the electorate, regardless of the unity between President and Congress; the system of checks and balances, while admittedly delaying necessary reforms and often retarding important decisions of policy, will help to prevent dictatorship by the executive or by the legislature. Constitutional limitations on governmental power are a fixed, legal safeguard against complete centralization of authority in the national government. In addition, the Bill of Rights protects every citizen and is particularly important in time of crisis.

As it operates today even in Great Britain, the parliamentary system often results in party or cabinet dictatorship, particularly during periods of emergency. In those countries so unfortunate as to try to copy the parliamentary system of Britain, political chaos or totalitarian government is the frequent result. Parliamentary government then, has defects which make it unsuitable for democratic government in crisis. In reality, it should be plainly labelled "Made in Britain; Not for Export."

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More Than

FIFTY YEARS OF FORUM

Although the "equal pay for equal work" issue has not yet been settled in our society, women have come a long way since 1886. The lively debate which FORUM sponsored in that year points up the tremendous handicap in basic attitudes which women had to overcome. The Male argued:

So far as human society is a success, woman's work will never go into the market as a commodity at all, to be paid for on competitive principles. Such competition is a calamity as militating against the perfect order toward which the instincts of both men and women tend. When it does occur, and the woman is compelled to live by selling her services for what they will fetch, the commercial value of her service to her employer is diminished by the fact that her mere relegation to that condition is evidence that she has failed to find her true place.

Women instinctively repel and despise a man with whom they are in near contact who will employ them only at the competitive wage rate. It is unnatural and hateful to them to be employed at just what they can earn and no more. Their hearts yearn for favor, love, affection, and they prize every little proof of these, such as compliments, not on the work they do, but on qualities that help to identify them with the non-workers, such as their grace, delicate hands, and tasteful dress. Women care more for flattery than for wages, and hate most cordially the man who withholds their proper meed. But flattery, which is the proper wage of women, is the most costly one a man can pay, and ends, if he is single, in marriage or a quarrel; if he is already married, in divorce or scandals. In either case the employer may lose more on the work of one woman than any profit he would derive from the work of a hundred. In secretaryships and confidential occupations male labor is cheaper than female, as steam as a motive power is cheaper than gunpowder, because it involves less danger of explosion.

. . . . Women themselves discriminate against so many employments that, in the few they prefer, the supply is necessarily in excess of the demand that remains after considering the objections to their employment. Engineering, sailoring, mining, and fishing are too laborious and dangerous. Out-of-door farming, lumbering, building, blacksmithing, are too arduous. The barber's trade, though light, is deemed indelicate; the butcher's or scavengers' trade is gross; the undertaker's is gloomy. The raising of flowers and birds, though both delicate and profitable, is unsocial.

. . . . In the present imperfect industrial condition of the world, a small proportion of the female sex are unfortunately compelled to live or die accordingly as they can or cannot earn the means of living. They are like passengers who have leaped overboard in mid-ocean from a sinking ship. Everybody desires that the rope thrown to them shall be the longest possible. But the actual inadequacy of the rope that may be thrown to them can hardly be called a discrimination against them on account of their being overboard.

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Trusteeship for Palestine?

ON March 19, 1948, the United States representative to the Security Council, Warren R. Austin, reviewed the short, sad annals of the Palestine partition plan, adopted by the General Assembly on November 29. He then announced a surprising shift in United States policy, calling for the establishment of a temporary trusteeship for Palestine. The fat was in the fire.

Although Mr. Austin carefully delineated the reasons for the impasse on partition—the intransigeance of the Arabs and the sudden announcement of the British that they would withdraw on May 15—he was not as specific about the remedy which the United States was offering. It was obvious to all that it was designed to keep Russian troops out of Palestine.

Palestine seems now destined to become just another backdrop against which Russia and the United States will shadow box. We are evidently more interested in defending "our strategic interests" in the Middle East than in solving the Palestine problem. "Events" may yet force our hand and curb our freedom of manipulation.

Forum presents below Mr. Austin's announcement.

* * * *

The resolution adopted by the Security Council on 5 March 1948 requested the permanent members of the Security Council "to consult and to inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine. . . ."

A brief report on the above part of the resolution was made this morning. With respect to that report, I wish to comment upon paragraph 4, which reads:

"The Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee have indicated that the partition plan cannot be implemented by peaceful means under present conditions."

The representative of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Silver, apparently had no complaint with respect to paragraph 4 provided the emphasis was in the right place. He laid the emphasis on the last words, "under present conditions." So do we.

Paragraph 5 of the report given this morning reads:

"The mandatory power has confirmed that a considerable number of incursions of illegal arms and armed elements into Palestine have occurred by land and sea."

For the information of the Security Council, I shall read the testimony obtained from the mandatory power on this point. The members have before them a document submitted by the Secretary-General. The portion which I shall read is found on the ninth page of the document. The questions referred to were addressed to the mandatory power.

"QUESTION 1: Have any incursions by armed elements from outside Palestine occurred in addition to those already reported to the Palestine Commission by the mandatory power?"

The members will note that the incursions referred to are in addition to those already reported. The following is the answer given to question 1.

"ANSWER 1: The following information is now available in addition to that already supplied:

"(a) On or about 24 February, between 500 and 1000 Iraqis, Lebanese, Syrians, Egyptians and Transjordanians entered Samaria and Galilee across the Jordan and the Palestine-Lebanon frontier.

"(b) A band of up to 500 Yugoslavs presumed to be Bosnian Moslems were reported en route to the Lydda District during the first week of March.

"(c) On the 5th/6th March, a small party under Fawzi Bey Kawukji entered Palestine. Kawukji's present whereabouts and intentions are unknown, and no report of his having established a permanent headquarters have been received by the British authorities.

"(d) Numbers of Egyptians have entered Gaza District in parties of up to 100 at a

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time. It is possible that other smaller contingents have entered unreported."

"QUESTION 2: Has the mandatory power been able to identify personnel involved in such incursions?

"ANSWER 2: The information of the Palestine authorities regarding the origin of personnel involved in these incursions is derived from common knowledge available locally and from intelligence reports. As regards the character of these forces, they consist of irregular formations and not organized units of any national armed force." . . . .

"QUESTION 4: Are arms now flowing into Palestine from outside sources to individuals or groups unauthorized by the mandatory power to possess arms?

"ANSWER 4: Both Arabs and Jews in Palestine are now receiving illicit consignments of arms from outside sources. While the Palestine government have no exact knowledge of the quantity and description of arms possessed by either side, it is their opinion that the Jews are better armed than the Arabs. In this connection it will be recalled that there have recently been instances of the seizure in the United States by United States authorities of large consignments of high explosives destined for Jewish organizations in Palestine.

"As regards the possibility which has been suggested of illicit importation of arms by aircraft landing in the desert, the Palestine government consider this unlikely. Such clandestine importation by air would, however, be easier for the Jews than for the Arabs, in view of the better facilities possessed by the former for wireless communication and for distribution of arms after receipt.

"QUESTION 5: What measures, military and civil, by the mandatory power are now in effect to prevent the movement of hostile elements into Palestine from outside Palestine?

"ANSWER 5: The principal points of entry by land are guarded by troops or police, but owing to the length of the frontier and the difficult nature of the terrain, it is impossible for frontier control to be one hundred per cent effective. As regards the sea frontier, the measures taken by the mandatory authorities to prevent the entry of Jewish illegal immigrants are well-known."

The preamble of part II of my statement of this morning reads:

"1. As a result of the consultations of the permanent members regarding the situation with respect to Palestine, they find and report that a continuation of the infiltration into Palestine by land and by sea of groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence could aggravate still further the situation."

This language was intended to exclude, and we think that it does exclude, those unfortunate people who are seeking sanctuary in the Holy Land, referred to as being on the Island of Cyprus. There may also be others. The language of this paragraph also excludes legal immigrants. The meaning is clearly defined: "groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence."

The second duty under the Resolution adopted by the Security Council was for the permanent members to make recommendations to the Security Council, as a result of their consultations, regarding the guidance and instructions which the Security Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view of implementing the Resolution of the General Assembly.

IMPLEMENTATION OF PLAN

In support of the position which some of the permanent members of the Security Council took, as presented in the brief report this morning, it might be helpful to the Security Council for me to summarize briefly the present positions, as we understand them, of the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, and the Jews and Arabs of Palestine, conserning the implementation of the partition plan recommended by the General Assembly.

During the consultations of the past two weeks, the Palestine Commission was asked whether it had found sufficient acceptance of the partition plan on the part of the Jews, the Arabs and the mandatory power, to afford a basis for its peaceful implementation. The answer of the Palestine Commission was "No." It observed, in this connection, that the Jews of Palestine generally accepted the plan, that the Arabs of Palestine generally opposed the plan; and that the mandatory power had declined to take any action which might be

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interpreted as involving implementation of the plan.

The Palestine Commission has repeated its view that it could not discharge its responsibilities on the termination of the mandate without the assistance of an adequate non-Palestinian armed force for the preservation of law and order. The Palestine Commission does not consider it possible to implement the plan by peaceful means either as a whole or in substantial part so long as the existing vigorous Arab resistance to partition exists.

The Palestine Commission considered itself unable, within the terms of the Resolution of the General Assembly, to consider whether any modification of the recommended plan might offer a basis for agreement among the people of Palestine.

With regard to the establishment of the provisional council or councils of government in the proposed Jewish and Arab States by 1 April 1948, the Palestine Commission has concluded: (a) that the attitude of the Arab Higher Committee and Arab resistance in Palestine preclude any possibility of selecting a provisional council of government for the proposed Arab State by 1 April, (b) that while the Palestine Commission can take and has in fact taken some preliminary steps toward the selection of the provisional council for the Jewish State, the provisional council will not be able to carry out its functions, in the sense of the plan, prior to the termination of the mandate, (c) the position of the mandatory power precludes any possibility of fulfilling by 1 April the provisions of the plan as regards either the Arab or the Jewish provisional council of government.

With regard to the city of Jerusalem, the Palestine Commission's view is that the administration of the city of Jerusalem by the United Nations is possible if the plan of partition with economic union is generally accepted by the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine and peacefully implemented.

The permanent members of the Security Council held two discussions with the representative of the mandatory power last week. One of these was devoted to security problems, and the other to the implementation of the partition plan.

From the information supplied by the mandatory government, it appeared that several thousand Arabs have entered Palestine in bands of varying size, and have infiltrated the Palestinian population. The identification of these Arabs has not been firmly established, but it appears to be common knowledge in Palestine that they include nationals of most of the neighbouring Arab States and that they have entered from Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, and Egypt. The United Kingdom reports that these bands are irregular formations and are not organized units of any national armed force.

The representative of the mandatory power was asked whether his government considers that there is a threat of force against Palestine which now constitutes a threat to international peace, and also whether the existing situation in Palestine is a situation which constitutes a threat to the peace. He replied that his government would furnish all the facts available but that the question of what constitutes a threat to the peace is for the Security Council to decide.

In response to questions concerning implementation of the General Assembly recommendation, the mandatory power stated that it has "accepted" the Plan of Partition with economic union recommended by the General Assembly, but that it cannot participate in its implementation. While it wished to avoid any action which might be considered as obstructive, it could not itself be instrumental in putting into effect a plan which is not accepted by both the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine.

The representative of the mandatory power informed the permanent members that his government considered that it would be very difficult to carry out the Plan without the backing of force; that even if the Jewish militia were sufficiently armed to ensure the organization and protection of the Jewish State, such action would not be the equivalent of a settlement; that the United Kingdom did not believe that there were any modifications in detail which would make the Plan acceptable both to the Jews and Arabs of Palestine; and that no change in the timetable of British withdrawal from Palestine is contemplated by the United Kingdom. The representative of the United Kingdom further stated that his government had no suggestions to make with

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regard to means by which the Jews and Arabs of Palestine might be brought together although successful efforts in this direction would be welcomed.

Representatives of the mandatory government further indicated that there would be a very substantial deficit in the Palestinian budget following British withdrawal and that, while the Palestinian government has been financially self-sufficient, the cost of maintaining British forces in Palestine is considerably larger than the total Palestinian budget of $96 million annually.

Representatives of the Jewish Agency stated that the Jews of Palestine accept the partition Plan. The Agency claimed that the Plan represents, however, an irreducible minimum for the Jews of Palestine since it already involves a great reduction in what they consider their rightful claims. Also that, although there is no perfect or easy solution, the present Plan is the only practical solution reached after many other plans had failed of acceptance. The Agency representatives stated that it should now be taken as a postulate that any plan whatever will require enforcement. No modifications in the Plan would commend themselves to the Jews and the Jewish Agency does not see any possibility of modifications which would make the Plan acceptable to the Arabs.

The Jewish Agency stated that the Jews of Palestine would be ready to undertake the responsibilities for government and for the maintenance of law and order within the proposed Jewish State. They expressed confidence that they could assert the authority of the Jewish State and maintain essential public services. This would presuppose the establishment and equipment of the militia contemplated in the Plan and the removal of restrictions on the importation of arms. They believe that an international force would be necessary, and that if no international force were provided, much more serious losses both to Arabs and Jews would result.

On the question of implementation by peaceful means, the Jewish Agency stated that it did not believe it would be possible to obtain a formal public agreement with the Arabs of Palestine in advance of implementation. They believed, however, that if left alone, considerable sections of Palestinian Arabs would be willing to co-operate or acquiesce; but that armed intervention by neighbouring states completely changed that situation.

With respect to economic union, the Jewish Agency stated that they accepted economic union as a part of the Plan although they themselves did not ask for it. The Agency does not consider the principles of the proposed economic union essential to the economic life of Palestine as a whole or to creation of the Jewish State. The Agency considers that economic union should not be an obstacle to the creation of the Jewish State.

The representatives of the Jewish Agency stated that the Jews would co-operate in the administration of Jerusalem by the United Nations considered, however, as part of the Partition Plan. That United Nations administration of Jerusalem apart from the Plan would create a serious obstacle to such co-operation.

IMMIGRATION

The Jews insist upon having the control of immigration, because that is a question of sovereignty and is a most essential part of the whole scheme. The Jews, they said, must have the keys to their own homeland in their own hand. The exclusive control of immigration was the most powerful argument in persuading the Jews to accept the Partition Plan. They had in mind a rate of immigration of 80,000 to 100,000 a year—roughly 1,000,000 over a ten-year period—subject to changing positions both inside the Jewish State and in areas outside. They pointed out that there is no longer a great reservoir of Jews in Europe and that Arab fears that Palestine would be inundated can no longer be considered as well grounded.

A representative of the Arab Higher Committee made a formal statement on behalf of the Committee which observed that all of the questions which had been directed to the Committee revolved around partition which, with the clear and unequivocal support of Arab States, the Arabs of Palestine have categorically rejected. This statement went on to say that the Arab Higher Committee wished to reiterate its rejection of solutions based on partition in any form, including creation of a

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separate provisional or permanent administration for the City of Jerusalem.

The Arab Higher Committee further wished to emphasize that the only solution compatible with the ideals of the United Nations Charter and which would guarantee peace and security in Palestine would be the formulation of one independent state for the whole of Palestine whose constitution would be based on democratic principles and which would include adequate safeguards for minorities and the safety of the Holy Places. The Arab Higher Committee stated, in this connection, that such a state would be prepared to accept full responsibility for governmental administration and maintenance of law and order in the whole of Palestine and that it would be prepared to treat all citizens and residents of all creeds with justice which befits a truly democratic country.

An identical question was submitted to the Jewish Agency, the Arab States, and the Arab Higher Committee, viz: "Would the addressee"—different in each case—"be prepared to enter into the necessary agreement for an effective truce in Palestine?" Summarized, the replies were as follows: The Jewish Agency: Yes, if carried out within the framework of implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly and in strict conformity with the timetable provided in that Resolution. The Arab States: Yes, if partition is suspended. No reply has been received from the Arab Higher Committee to that question. However, that Committee has categorically rejected partition.

Having considered the results of the consultations of the past two weeks, we must also reflect upon the situation in Palestine on 15 May 1948, on which date the mandatory power now plans to terminate the Mandate.

In his statement to the Security Council on 24 February 1948, the Representative of the United Kingdom said:

"My government are bringing to an end the discharge of their responsibilities towards Palestine under the mandate and are leaving the future of that country to international authority."

On 2 March 1948, the Representative of the United Kingdom referred, in his statement to the Security Council, to:

" . . . . whatever procedure the United Nations may decide to adopt with a view to assuming responsibility for the Government of Palestine on 15 May. . . ."

He concluded with the statement:

"Finally, I must repeat that the United Kingdom must not enter into any new or extended commitment in regard to Palestine. Our contribution has already been made over the years and the date of termination of responsibility is irrevocably fixed."

The status of Palestine will be equivocal because the United Kingdom seeks to give up the mandate. Article 5 of the mandate in respect of Palestine provides:

"The mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the government of any foreign power."

UNITED NATIONS RESPONSIBILITY

In the premises there is the urgent need for early clarification of the United Nations responsibility toward Palestine. The General Assembly and the Security Council have broad responsibilities and fidelity to the principles of justice and the aims of the Charter to assist in bringing about a pacific settlement of situations and disputes placed before them. The Security Council has specific obligations and powers where it finds a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. I have already dealt, in my statements to the Security Council on 24 February and again on 2 March, with these responsibilities.

The assumption of administrative or governmental responsibility by the United Nations is another matter. If the United Nations is to act as a government, a large administrative task is involved. The Organization itself becomes directly responsible for all phases of the life of the people over whom such powers are exercised. It is a formidable responsibility, and a heavy financial commitment is incurred by all fifty-seven members of the Organization.

The United Nations does not automatically fall heir to the responsibilities either of the League of Nations or of the mandatory power in respect of the Palestine mandate. The record seems to us entirely clear that the United

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Nations did not take over the League of Nations mandate system.

The League of Nations Assembly on 18 April 1946, at its final session, passed a resolution which included the following two paragraphs:

"THE ASSEMBLY . . .

"3. RECOGNIZES THAT, on the termination of the League's existence, its functions with respect to the mandated territories will come to an end, but notes that Chapters XI, XII, and XIII of the Charter of the United Nations embody principles corresponding to those declared in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League;

"4. TAKES NOTE of the expressed intentions of the Members of the League now administering territories under mandate to continue to administer them for the well-being and development of the peoples concerned in accordance with the obligations contained in the respective mandates,"—note these words —"until other arrangements have been agreed upon between the United Nations and the respective mandatory powers."

At the First Part of the First Session of the United Nations General Assembly, on 12 February 1946, the General Assembly passed a resolution regarding the transfer of certain functions, activities, and assets of the League of Nations to the United Nations. No transfer of functions concerning mandates was mentioned. The resolution included the statement that:

"The General assembly will itself examine, or will submit to the appropriate organ of the United Nations, any request from the parties that the United Nations should assume the exercise of functions or powers entrusted to the League of Nations by treaties, international conventions, agreements, and other instruments having a political character."

Provision was made in the United Nations Charter for the voluntary placing of mandates under a trusteeship system by means of trusteeship agreements between the General Assembly or the Security Council and the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power. By such an agreement, the United Nations itself, under article 81 of the Charter, could become the administering authority for a trust territory. But no such proposal has been made by the mandatory power with respect to Palestine, and no action has been taken by the United Nations itself which would have that result.

A unilateral decision by the United Kingdom to terminate the Palestine mandate cannot automatically commit the United Nations to responsibility for governing that country. We think it clear that the United Nations does not succeed to administrative responsibility for Palestine merely because the latter is a mandate. Signing the Charter did not commit the signatories to a contingent liability for mandates, to become operative by the decisions of mandatory powers to abandon their mandates. On the facts reported by the permanent members, Palestine is a land falling under chapter XI of the United Nations Charter, a non-self-governing territory.

Does the General Assembly recommendation of 29 November 1947 constitute an acceptance by the United Nations of governmental responsibility for Palestine? Let us examine the facts.

On 2 April 1947, the United Kingdom directed a request to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the first part of which states:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to place the question of Palestine on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next regular annual session. They will submit to the Assembly an account of their administration of the League of Nations mandate and will ask the Assembly to make recommendations, under article 10 of the Charter, concerning the future government of Palestine."

Thus, the question of Palestine came before the General Assembly only as a request for a recommendation. No proposal was made by the United Kingdom to the General Assembly that the United Nations itself undertake responsibility for the government of Palestine.

Following consideration of the question of Palestine in a special session, in a special committee—U. N. S. C. O. P.—and at its Second Regular Session, the General Assembly passed a resolution which recommended "to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United

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Nations, the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the plan of partition with economic union" set forth in the resolution.

Under the plan, the United Nations agreed, as a part of the recommended general settlement, to undertake administrative responsibilities for the city of Jerusalem. Further, the General Assembly agreed that a commission elected by it would perform certain functions to effect the transfer of responsibility from the mandatory power to the successor governments in Palestine. The limited responsibilities of the United Nations set forth in the plan are inseparable from the balance of the plan and are dependent upon the adoption and implementation of the entire plan. This essential unity of the General Assembly recommendation was emphasized by the Chairman of the Palestine Commission in his statement to the Security Council on 24 February. I quote from that very able statement:

"I have put some stress upon the words 'plan of partition as it has been envisaged by the General Assembly' since it is with the implementation of such plan that our Commission has been entrusted. It is quite natural—and legitimate—for interested parties to concentrate their efforts preponderantly—if not exclusively—on such parts of the plan as are intended more especially for their sake. The Commission is not in such a position; its duty, according to its terms of reference, is to provide for the implementation of the whole plan which has been conceived by the General Assembly as a whole . . . .

". . . . Since the plan has been envisaged as a whole, the realization and sound functioning of one part of the plan has been made, in a substantial degree, dependent upon the establishment and functioning of its other parts."

The limited functions which the General Assembly offered to undertake in connection with its Palestine recommendation stand or fall with that resolution. If it proves impossible to give effect to that resolution, the United Nations will have on 15 May 1948 no administrative and governmental responsibilities for Palestine, unless further action is taken by the General Assembly.

The plan proposed by the General Assembly was an integral plan which would not succeed unless each of its parts could be carried out. There seems to be general agreement that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means. From what has been said in the Security Council and in consultations among the several members of the Security Council, it is clear that the Security Council is not prepared to go ahead with efforts to implement this plan in the existing situation. We had a vote on that subject and only five votes could be secured for that purpose.

The Security Council now has before it clear evidence that the Jews and Arabs of Palestine and the mandatory power cannot agree to implement the General Assembly plan of partition through peaceful means. The announced determination of the mandatory power to terminate the mandate on 15 May 1948, if carried out by the United Kingdom would result in the light of information now available, in chaos, heavy fighting and much loss of life in Palestine. The United Nations cannot permit such a result. The loss of life in the Holy Land must be brought to an immediate end. The maintenance of international peace is at stake.

The United States fully subscribes to the conclusion reached by the four permanent members that the Security Council should make it clear to the parties and governments concerned that the Security Council is determined not to permit the situation in Palestine to threaten international peace and, further, that the Security Council should take further action by all means available to it to bring about the immediate cessation of violence and the restoration of peace and order in Palestine.

Under the Charter, the Security Council has both an inescapable responsibility and full authority to take the steps necessary to bring about a cease-fire in Palestine and a halt to the incursions being made into that country. The powers of articles 39, 40, 41 and 42 are very great, and the Security Council should not hesitate to use them—all of them—if necessary to bring about peace.

In addition, my Government believes that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations to maintain the peace and

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to afford the Jews and Arabs of Palestine, who must live together, further opportunity to reach an agreement regarding the future government of that country. Such a United Nations trusteeship would, of course, be without prejudice to the character of the eventual political settlement, which we hope can be achieved without long delay. In our opinion, the Security Council should recommend the establishment of such a trusteeship to the General Assembly and to the mandatory power. This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council might call under the terms of the Charter. Pending the meeting of the special session of the General Assembly, we believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its efforts to implement the proposed partition plan.

I shall now read three propositions which are being submitted by the United States. I am not making any representation for any other one of the permanent members. The United States propositions are contained in a paper entitled "Additional Conclusions and Recommendations Concerning Palestine," which has been circulated to the members. It reads as follows:

"1. The plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral plan which cannot succeed unless each of its parts can be carried out. There seems to be general agreement that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means.

"2. We believe that further steps must be taken immediately not only to maintain the peace but also to afford a further opportunity to reach an agreement between the interested parties regarding the future government of Palestine. To this end we believe that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Such a United Nations trusteeship would be without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned or to the character of the eventual political settlement, which we hope can be achieved without long delay. In our opinion, the Security Council should recommend the establishment of such a trusteeship to the General Assembly and to the mandatory power. This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council should request the Secretary-General to convoke under article 20 of the Charter.

"3. Pending the meeting of the proposed special session of the General Assembly, we believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its efforts to implement the proposed partition plan."

Draft resolutions which would give effect to the above suggestions will be circulated shortly for the consideration of the Security Council.

After the family sat down to lunch, little Joan turned to her father.

"Why can't we pray once a week, daddy?" queried the child. "Do we have to ask for our daily bread every day?"

Her younger brother, looking up in utter disgust, asked, "Do you think we want to get stale bread?"

The preoccupation of the local prosecutor with football is well known. He teaches a Sunday school class of small boys, and complaints have been muttered by a parent or two that he conveys more knowledge of football than of religion.

One Sunday morning, two pillars of the church regarded him from afar as he held his class spellbound. "Where is he now?" asked one referring to the Sunday curriculum. "Oh," said the other, "he's got Moses on the forty yard line."

—*Chicago Tribune*

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CONGRESS DEBATES:

Federal Aid to Education

S. 472, the federal-aid-to-education bill, passed the Senate on April 1 by a vote of 58 to 22. This bill was championed by Senator Robert Taft who reversed the strong stand against federal aid to education that he had taken in 1943 when he had defeated a similar bill. Opponents of the measure flung Mr. Taft's arguments back in his teeth, word for word.

The opposition seemed to be haunted by the apparition of a camel whom Mr. Kem, of Missouri, recalled from childhood:

> "My nose is cold," he meekly cried;
> "Oh let me warm it by thy side!"
> The long and scraggy neck came next;
> And then, as falls the threatening storm,
> In leaped the whole ungainly form.

To Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, the "camel" was federal control of education; to Senator Tom Connally of Texas, it was federal enforcement of non-segregation policies in the South; to Senator Donnell of Missouri, it was sectarian influence in the schools.

The debate cut across party lines sharply and revealed sectarian prejudices—Mr. Baldwin, of Connecticut, for example, did not see why Connecticut had to contribute so heavily to poorer states. Some Southern senators found it difficult to believe that New York needed any money at all for its schools.

FORUM presents below excerpts from this debate in the Senate.[1]

1 *Congressional Record, Senate,* Vol. 94, No. 61, pp. 4027-4036; 4045; 4050-4053.

Mr. BYRD, Democrat, Virginia. Mr. President, the pending bill, if enacted, will start a new federal subsidy to the states. It begins with an annual appropriation of federal funds of $300 million for public education, but it opens up a Pandora's box of federal spending which will increase as the years go on and will, I predict, be greater in time than the grand total of all the present federal subsides to the states.

Never in our history has there been a more unpropitious time for the federal government to enter into a long-range proposition such as is proposed in the pending legislation. Today the federal government is confronted with the greatest expenditures in time of peace ever contemplated in our history, and these vast expenditures will be certain to continue for many, many years. World War II ended not quite three years ago, but today this nation is rearming at a cost which may stagger the financial solvency of America. I predict that within a space of two years the federal budget will reach a total of at least $50 billion annually, and perhaps more. The recommendations of the President for military costs, for expenditure in the next fiscal year, are now $15 billion, with more to come. This includes only $400 million for universal military training and the companion expenditure for the National Guard. The total of these expenditures when this program, if enacted by the Congress, is in full operation will be $4 billion, so that within two years the military expenditures will reach a minimum of $20 billion.

We have entered into a program of foreign aid which will take from the Federal Treasury from $8 billion to $9 billion annually. The interest on the public debt is $5 billion, the cost of caring for the veterans is now $7 billion, and not likely to be reduced, so that the total of these expenses, which can be considered as fixed for many years to come, will approximate $39 billion to $40 billion. To this must be added $12 billion of ordinary expenses of government, which makes a total of approximately $50 billion. It is, of course, possible, by rigid and drastic economy, to reduce the ordinary expenses of government, but even then the total will not be very far from $50 billion.

This will place the severest strain upon the

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business economy of America that we have ever experienced, because no longer can we depend upon deficit financing. With a debt of $225 billion, as we now have, continuing deficits for current expenditures will shake our financial structure to its very foundation. This money—this $50 billion, which I predict will be the budget within two years—must be raised by annual taxation and will place a burden upon the private-enterprise system of America such as we have never experienced before in time of peace.

Let us never forget that the strength of America is in a strong and virile system of free enterprise, which is not possible if the taxes are so burdensome as to destroy the initiative and the prospect of profit of those from whose business operations the government must obtain its funds to pay its cost. These colossal expenditures may require a regimentation of our economy equal to that which now exists in England and which has virtually destroyed the freedom of the individuals in that country. The most sacred responsibility we have is to preserve here at home the principles of free democratic government and a solvent nation, because once the democracy of America falls, then it is not likely that anywhere in the world free government will be established for centuries to come.

This is certainly not a time to expand federal expenditures in a new field, but it is a time to conserve all of our resources to meet the financial strain of the days to come.

FEDERAL CONTROL

Mr. WHERRY, Republican, Nebraska. Regardless of the restrictions written into section 2 of the bill, which I think probably are written with as much force and effect as restrictions could be written, so far as concerns keeping the processes within the States themselves, I ask the able Senator this question: Should the Congress of the United States appropriate money to the states or any other agencies, unless it has control? Control should be maintained, should it not?

Mr. BYRD. I do not believe that the guarantees in the bill, to the effect that it will be a home-rule bill, are worth the paper on which they are written. There is no way by which one Congress can guarantee that future Congresses will not change what has been done. All that would be required would be a majority vote on the part of the House and the Senate, and every provision of the law could be changed at any time. So there is no assurance, no guaranty.

There is the further fact that there is not a single federal subsidy today which is not controlled by the federal government so far as the manner and method of its expenditure are concerned.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILLIAMS in the chair). Does the Senator from Virginia yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Then it is the Senator's feeling, is it not, that no matter what the bill provides, even though we may, for the sake of argument, agree that it meets the point, which I have raised, yet we cannot bind a succeeding Congress on the question of subsidies and contributions? In future years there is danger of the nationalization of the school system by the federal government.

Mr. BYRD. I think there is a certainty that sooner or later, if this bill is enacted, the Congress of the United States will direct how this money is to be spent. Of course, the localities or the states could refuse the money. That is true; but Senators who have been governors of their states know, as the former Governor of Maryland, Mr. O'CONOR, knows, that once the money has been integrated into the finances of a state, the denial to the state of such large sums of money would create a very dangerous and difficult situation.

Mr. WHERRY. Then it is my understanding that, regardless of the guaranties in the bill itself, there can be no assurance that there will be no attempt by the federal government to nationalize the school system, or to control or dictate the expenditure of the money. Is it the feeling of the Senator that regardless of what the provisions of this bill might be, the administration of the fund would depend upon succeeding Congresses so far as future provisions are concerned? As I understand, it is the Senator's feeling that there is implicit in every subsidy the idea that there should be some control. . . .

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Mr. BYRD. I certainly think so.

Mr. ROBERTSON, Democrat, of Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I wish to invite the attention of the senior Senator from Virginia to one phase of the question of the Senator from Nebraska which escaped his attention. Does the Senator from Virginia know of any federal aid to the states in the past or in the present which has been granted free of all federal control?

Mr. BYRD. To my knowledge there is not a single example of federal aid which is not accompanied by a direction from the federal government as to the manner in which the fund shall be expended. I have a list of them, in eight separate categories.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I have listened very patiently to the argument made by the distinguished Senator from Ohio to the effect that section 2 provides the guarantees which place this aid in an entirely different category from other examples of federal aid which has already been granted. In order to get the point of the distinguished Senator absolutely clear in my mind, I propounded this question to him: Regardless of the fact that we might agree that section 2 does exactly what is claimed for it, nevertheless, does the distinguished Senator feel that in years to come, under the theory that in every type of federal aid there is an implied control, it will be our duty to see to it that the money of the federal government is used for the purposes for which it is allocated?

Mr. BYRD. I think there is a great deal in that argument; but what I wish to make clear is that section 2 gives no guaranty. It purports to give a guaranty, but gives no guaranty, and can be changed by a majority vote of the House and Senate tomorrow, the next day, or at any time Congress chooses to act. There is no way by which a guaranty can be given for future years.

Mr. CHAVEZ, Democrat, New Mexico. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Of course, any legislation which is enacted by one Congress is subject to revision, modification, or repeal by a succeeding Congress. Let me ask the Senator from Virginia this question: I understand the ideal which the Senator has in mind with respect to state control of the schools and of the funds which are provided by this bill; but does the Senator know of any other piece of legislation which contains prohibitions similar to those included in this bill?

Mr. BYRD. I think there have been quite a number of bills which have provided, in their original text, that the sole control of the funds should rest with the states and localities; but in each and every case, sooner or later the federal government has exercised control over its own funds. No one can blame the federal government for doing so. Those funds represent money which comes out of the Federal Treasury. It is questionable whether we ought to turn over to the treasuries of the states such large sums without any strings whatever attached to them.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, the directions which are tied to this particular bill are that the funds shall be expended for the purposes of the proposed legislation.

Mr. BYRD. I understand that. That would be the case today, if the bill should be passed; but that is not binding on the Congress which will convene next January.

Mr. CHAVEZ. But that can be said about any piece of legislation.

Mr. BYRD. Yes, it can be. It is impossible to give any guaranty to the states that the expenditure of these funds will not be controlled by the federal government. When such a guaranty is given, it is not worth the paper it is written on. No such guaranty can be given. The Senator knows that to be so.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I know it. But we are dealing with this proposed legislation, and certainly it contains a provision in understandable English that it shall not be used except for the purposes provided.

Mr. BYRD. But the Senator knows that such a provision would not be even morally binding on the Congress which convenes next January, which would not have enacted this legislation.

Mr. BALDWIN, Republican, Connecticut. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

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Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. Who is to determine whether the money granted to the states under this bill for education is being used for the purposes for which it was granted?

Mr. CHAVEZ. We are passing it over to the states. It seems to be the contention of the Senator that the federal government, aside from contributing federal funds, shall have nothing to say as to how the money shall be spent in the state, so long as the money is used for the purposes of education.

Mr. BALDWIN. Suppose a state were to put the money into its highway fund. Could the federal government stop that, under this bill?

Mr. CHAVEZ. I think so.

Mr. BALDWIN. It seems to me absolutely necessary that it must be able to stop it. Right there we have federal control, do we not?

Mr. CHAVEZ. We have federal control, because we are here proposing to enact legislation to help public-school education. That means that the money cannot be used for public highways or anything else except the purposes for which it was authorized.

Mr. BALDWIN. Suppose a state using these federal funds had the most impossible, inefficient, ineffective, profligate system of education. Is the federal government going to tax the other states that have good systems of education, in order to maintain that kind of an educational system in one of the states whose income is low?

Mr. CHAVEZ. No; I agree with the Senator from Connecticut that if we are appropriating public funds for a specific purpose, it will be up to the federal government to see to it that the money is used for that specific purpose.

Mr. BALDWIN. If my distinguished friend will concede that, then he concedes the argument that the distinguished Senator from Virginia makes, namely, that the federal government of necessity must have control. And once the camel gets his head under the tent, there will be federal control of education.

Mr. CHAVEZ. No; there will not be federal control of education, because the business of the federal government will end when it sees that the money is spent for the particular purpose for which it was authorized.

Mr. BALDWIN. My point is that the very act of the federal government in seeing that the money is spent for the particular purpose for which it was appropriated is in itself federal control. That must be so, and it cannot be avoided.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I fully agree with the Senator from Connecticut, and I think it is a sound proposition. When the Congress appropriates $300 million a year to help the state of Connecticut, the state of New Mexico, the state of Maryland, the state of Illinois, the state of Virginia, and the other states in respect to their educational systems, I still think it is up to the federal government to see to it that that money is spent for the purposes for which it was appropriated.

Mr. BALDWIN. If that is so, the provision about no federal control, as contained in section 2, is an empty provision and means nothing.

Mr. LUCAS, Democrat, Illinois. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Let me say to the Senator from Connecticut that I raised the same question with the Senator from Ohio; and in response to the inquiry then propounded, the Senator from Ohio read two or three sections of the bill which gave me to understand that the funds will be spent only in line with what the legislatures of the respective states provide insofar as education is concerned. In other words, no funds can be spent other than for educational purposes, if this bill is enacted into law, and the expenditures under it must be in line with what the state legislature provides. I asked the Senator whether, for instance, in Illinois the superintendent of public instruction, who is a powerful political figure in our state, would have the power to disburse these funds in the way he saw fit. The reply was, "No"—that the legislature would lay down the code, by appropriate and proper legislation for educational purposes, and that code would specify how the money would be spent in the state.

Mr. BALDWIN. My answer is this: Suppose the legislature did not do so.

Mr. LUCAS. If the legislature did not lay down any law as to how these moneys should be distributed, then, as I understand the situa-

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tion, the state would not be eligible to receive any moneys under this bill from the federal treasury. I think I am correct as to that.

Mr. BALDWIN. I do not understand that that is so.

Mr. HILL, Democrat, Alabama. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. HILL. Let me say that the Senator from Illinois is absolutely correct. The bill contains a provision that these funds may be accepted by the Governor until the legislature meets, which might be as long as 12 months later. But the legislature must accept the funds, and they will go right into the school system, exactly as the state funds do, and will be expended exactly as the state funds are expended, without any federal interference or attempt to control them at all.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senator from Alabama does not mean to say, does he, that there cannot be some interference. In appropriation bills we could specifically provide that the money should not be used in a state which practiced segregation. That could be done legally.

Mr. HILL. I say there is a question whether that could be done.

Mr. BYRD. There is no question about that in the mind of the Parliamentarian of the Senate, whom I have consulted as to this matter.

Mr. HILL. There is a question, in view of the language of the bill, and also in view of the Connally amendment which was adpoted yesterday.

Mr. BYRD. But the Senator from Alabama knows as well as I do that a future Congress can change the provisions of this bill at any time, and can amend an appropriation bill in such a way as to change the effect of this bill. Such things have been done frequently, time and time again in the past.

So there is no guaranty as to this matter. Let us not fool ourselves, Mr. President.

I wish to say to the southern Senators that there is no guaranty that a provision will not be adopted, sooner or later, to the effect that no part of this money will be available to states which practice segregation in the schools —a provision similar to the Langer amendment to a previous bill. The Langer amendment was adopted by the Senate. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] voted for it. I predict today that if a Senator were to offer the Langer amendment to this bill, it would be adopted.

Mr. TAFT, Republican, Ohio. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I assure the Senator that the Langer amendment would not be adpoted today.

Mr. BYRD. I do not understand how the Senator from Ohio can assure us as to that. He does not control the votes in the Senate.

Mr. TAFT. I wish to say that I have made careful inquiry.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at this point?

Mr. BYRD. I must decline to yield just now, if the Senator from Alabama will wait I shall yield to him later.

HOME-RULE

Mr. President, I wish to make a point at this time about the so-called home-rule provision of the pending bill, a provision about which we have heard so much. Let me point out that there is no element of home rule about it. There is no way which home rule can be guaranteed. From time to time in the debate it has been stated, and the point has been emphasized, that the bill is a home-rule bill. Yet every Senator knows that such a guaranty is not worth the paper it is written on. At any time a majority of the Senate and a majority of the House can change any of the provisions of this bill or of any other bill. There is no such things as giving a guaranty of any value to the states that at some future time the federal government will not insist upon control in regard to these matters, just as it has in the case of every other federal subsidy. I ask any Senator to point to a single federal subsidy which has no federal control attached to it.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, let me say that I know of no such control in the case of the land-grant colleges or in any educational case. The Federal Office of Education has proceeded from the beginning on the theory that it operates solely through the state educational departments; and in that field I think there has

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been no interference whatever with the operation of the states.

Mr. BYRD. There are rules and regulations established by the federal government and the Federal Office of Education with respect to every expenditure that is made.

Mr. PEPPER, Democrat, Florida. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I was going to ask the Senator whether he has examined the situation in the vocational schools, for instance. I do not say I have carefully examined as to that matter, but I have not heard of any federal government requirement with respect to discrimination in vocational schools.

Mr. BYRD. The Senator may not have heard them, but there are federal requirements.

Mr. KEM, Republican, Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. KEM. The Senator from Ohio said he knew of no federal regulation in the field of education. I should like to ask about the regulation of teachers of economics, by which certain standards are laid down for them, and those standards must be observed and maintained before federal money can be devoted to the payment of their salaries.

Mr. TAFT. There is no aid for economics so far as I know in any federal law.

Mr. KEM. Oh, yes; there is—for example, home economics.

Mr. BYRD. Yes.

Mr. KEM. Of course, there is.

Mr. TAFT. No.

Mr. KEM. The Senator is quite wrong, I am sorry.

Mr. BYRD. That goes to agricultural schools, and rules and regulations are laid down, and I shall be glad to submit to the Senate——

Mr. TAFT. But they have in no way attempted to regulate. I have never heard a complaint of any federal attempt to regulate the states in regard to such matters.

Mr. BYRD. I would say to the Sentor from Ohio that there are regulations. I say there is a regulation on every single dollar that comes out of Washington.

Mr. KEM. This matter is in the field of education, and there is a regulation in the field of education under the Smith-Hughes Act.

Mr. TAFT. Of course there would be regulations under this act. They would provide, for instance, "You must distribute $50 to every school." There will be regulations, of course, but they are regulations which are outlined in the law, and in which there is no discrimination of any kind or any purpose to deprive a state of any money. The state simply complies with the actuarial requirements. It receives the money regardless of anybody's discretion.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. TAFT. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BALDWIN. There is no requirement in the pending bill, as I understand, as to the standard or type or kind of education that must be maintained.

Mr. TAFT. That is correct.

Mr. BALDWIN. In other words, if a state wanted to take the money and spend every nickel of it and all the rest of its appropriations for education on home economics courses, it could do it.

Mr. TAFT. It could do it. I mean the possibility is so remote that I think we may discount it. Every state has attempted, and in its constitution is usually required, to provide a free education for every child in the state who desires such an education—and sometimes, whether he desires it or not.

Mr. MAYBANK, Democrat, South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I should like to ask that I be permitted to finish this one point, after which I shall be glad to yield for any question. I merely want to finish on this one point. I have a complete statement on it, I think.

It is obviously true that control follows the purse. Everybody knows that to be so. Federal bureaus may not control it the first year or the second year; they may not control certain other appropriations to such a point that one would hear complaint about it, but regulations are established by these bureaus, they are legal, and if not obeyed the intended recipients do not get the money.

The effort of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], in offering an amendment, which was adopted yesterday, is very laudable in its

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purpose, but it will not prevent the future exercise of the power of control by the federal government. At any time, as I have stated, a majority in the House and Senate can change the provisions of this bill or of any other bill, and, under the rules of the Senate as well as the other House, appropriation bills can be amended by prescribing limitations on every appropriation granted by the federal government.

This appropriation will come up annually in appropriation bills, and limitations can be prescribed in an appropriation bill at any time respecting this expenditure.

Let me warn Senators who would vote for this bill on the theory that they are getting a direct gift from the federal government with no strings tied to it, that they are adopting a very dangerous procedure. That applies to my friends in the South.

It is well to recall what happened to Senate bill 637 when it was before the Senate on October 20, 1943. An amendment was offered by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] which provided that "there shall be no discrimination in the administration of the benefits and appropriations made under the respective provisions of this act, or in state funds supplemented thereby, on account of race, creed, or color."

That not only took control of the particular expenditure but it also took control of expenditures which the state supplemented by its own funds. Adoption of that amendment was vigorously protested by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], who was one of the patrons of Senate bill 637.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I should prefer to finish this statement; then I shall yield.

It was, however, adopted by the Senate by a vote of 40 to 37, and it is interesting to note that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], who now favors the pending bill as a home-rule bill, voted in favor of that amendment. The effect of the amendment would have been to compel the operation of mixed schools in all states that have separated schools, or such states were to be denied any benefits from the bill. That is an instance in which an appropriation of $200 million would have been used to coerce the states, in certain sections, into changing their entire public-school system, although the federal contribution was only an inconsequential part of the total.

I say now that should such an amendment be placed before the Senate today, it is my opinion that if submitted to a yea-and-nay vote it would be adopted.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. BYRD. Let me finish my statement, please.

After the amendment to Senate bill 637 was adopted, the bill was recommitted to the committee with the aid of its own proponents. This experience should be a warning to those who are seeking to obtain a federal grant to be used entirely as the states might desire.

Mr. President, in considering this phase of the question, which is so vital to the southern states, it is well, too, to bear in mind that the President of the United States has endorsed a proposal whereby all federal grants-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance shall be denied to states which practice any form of discrimination and segregation based upon race, color, creed, or national origin. I quote from the report of the President's Committee —and the President has endorsed this in toto —as follows:

"We believe that federal funds, supplied by taxpayers all over the nation, must not be used to support or perpetuate the pattern of segregation in education, public housing, public-health services, or other public services and facilities generally. We recognize that these services are indispensable to individuals in modern society and to further social progress. It would be regrettable if federal aid, conditioned on nonsegregated services, should be rejected by sections most in need of such aid . . . . it believes that segregation—"

This is the President's committee, endorsed by the President—

"is wrong morally and practically and must not receive financial support by the whole people."

No part of the program known as civil rights, endorsed by the President, created the resentment that this particular section did throughout the southern states. This was be-

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cause it proposed to coerce and to use a sanction against the southern states by denying to them their share of public funds which, in part were paid to the federal government by these same states. The money would be withheld unless the states changed their local laws, changed their manner of living, in order to conform to the federal pattern. I want to say that I for one am not willing to sell the constitutional rights of my state for a mess of federal pottage. It is true of course that if this sanction is operated against the states as recommended by the President of the United States, these federal grants could be rejected by the states. But let me remind Senators that once large federal funds are integrated in the system of state finances—and as I said previously, those who have been Governors know this well—the withdrawal of such funds will create very difficult and serious conditions. We are told that this is a home-rule bill and that it is guaranteed in the language of the bill that it will remain a home-rule bill, yet we have before us the fact that such a bill was once amended by the Senate so as to impose restrictions of an impossible nature upon certain segments of our populations, and we have before us further the fact that a Democratic President has without reservation endorsed a proposal to go to the ultimate extreme—the ultimate extreme—of denying federal funds of all kinds to states that do not conform with federal views as to the manner in which they operate their own affairs.

* * *

Mr. TAFT. The Senator has cited a number of instances in which he says there is danger that such action as he has indicated might be taken. Of course there is danger of anything being done. If such an amendment can be attached to an appropriation made for the purpose of education it can be put on a T.V.A. appropriation, or on a Bankhead Act appropriation, or on any other appropriation, if the Senator is correct. The southern states have become dependent in many respects upon such appropriations. What happened when the amendment regarding segregation was adopted? The Senate rejected the bill.

Mr. BYRD. I beg the Senator's pardon. The bill was recommitted to the committee.

Mr. TAFT. But that was a defeat of the

2 million children of school age attending no school
+ 2 million taught by ungualified teachers =
FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION BILL
CONGRESS

Herblock in *The Washington Post*
"SCHOOL DAYS"

bill, and it was so recognized. There have been several amendments offered proposing to interfere with state administration, and they have been overwhelmingly rejected by the Senate. I agree that the President of the United States, in his civil-rights message, suggested that there be some such general control, but I do not think we can find a Senator who would agree that that is a proper legislative procedure.

I do not think we shall ever find a Congress which will undertake to legislate in any such indirect manner as the Senator fears may happen under this amendment on a matter so important as is this bill. We sometimes attach a small proviso here and there, but I do not think it will ever be found that the House and Senate will go along with a proviso of the kind suggested. If it can be done in connection with this bill, there are many appropriation bills, as to which it can also be done.

* * *

Mr. BYRD. While the Senator from Ohio was absent from the Chamber, I was reading certain portions of the report he submitted for himself, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Ball, and Mr. Wherry, on October 12, 1943. I wish to pay

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tribute to the Senator from Ohio, and to say that nothing in this debate is comparable to the power and the logic of the condemnation he expressed in this report on the question of federal subsidies of schools. I refer to just one section of the report. The title is, "Education Is Not a Federal Function." I feel certain this was written by the hand of the able Senator from Ohio. It was very ably written. I read:

"Taking both parts of this bill together, it is a proposal to establish a federal subsidy for common-school and high-school education, a function of the state governments and local governments for the last 150 years. There can be no doubt that common-school and high-school education is the obligation of the states and their local subdivisions under our constitutional system and that it is not an obligation of the federal government. There is nothing whatever in the Constitution which delegates to the federal government power to deal with questions of education. All authority for a federal subsidy of education must be based upon the spending power, which is sufficiently broad to give a legal basis for the current bill—"

Speaking of the subsidy bill in 1943—"as for other subsidies to local government.

However, federal subsidies to the states for matters which are clearly not within the jurisdiction of the federal government are certainly only justified on the ground that the states are unable to finance adequately the activities which are constitutionally assigned to them."

I shall take a little time later to show that the states are in much better condition today to finance these educational expenditures than is the federal government. The Taft report continues:

"*It is undoubtedly true that the taxing* powers of the states are somewhat limited, and that under some conditions the federal government may be in a better position to raise money where it should be raised than the states themselves. It was on this ground that the federal government went so extensively into the financing of relief in the great emergency of 1932. Here was a tremendous new expenditure for which no provision was made in the state systems of finance, calling for a very large sum which the states were wholly unable to raise. But as the emergency declined, the federal government has gradually withdrawn its aid, and relief today is again administered by the states.

The same conditions do not at all apply to education. The states have always financed education. In nearly every state it has been given a prior consideration in dividing the funds which are available. One-third of all state and local taxes are spent for education. If the states and localities can't finance education, they can't finance any state or local activities."

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, it was the figures produced in opposition to that argument in the debate which really changed my mind, because it was perfectly clear, when we finally got down to the figures, that I was wrong in that statement. There are many states where the amount of money provided, even though the amount allocated to education was very large, over one-third of the total revenue of the state, resulting in a completely inadequate education. I think I would entirely stick by the rest of what the Senator has read, but it was the figures produced and the conditions described in the debate which changed my mind as to what necessitated federal aid in order to give the states enough money.

Mr. BYRD. The pending bill does not do what the Senator has suggested. The bill gives money to all the states, to the rich states as well as the poorer states. It is entirely different from giving aid where there is some great emergency, where it is impossible for a state to finance its own education.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield to me to make an inquiry of the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. KEM. I gather from what the Senator from Ohio has said that he has changed his mind since he wrote the statement the Senator from Virginia has just read. I should like to ask him if he has changed his mind since he wrote the statement which accompanies Senate bill 472, which appears in the proceedings before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, held in April and May last year.

Mr. TAFT. I do not know what it is.

Mr. KEM. I find on page 41 this statement:

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"I have already pointed out that regardless of safeguards, too much reliance on federal money would inevitably come to mean federal control."

I also invite the Senator's attention to the whole statement headed "Statement of Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT to accompany S. 472," which appears on page 38 of the proceedings before the subcommittee. I invite the Senator's attention to the section headed, "Education primarily a community responsibility," and particularly to the sentence appearing on page 41 reading as follows:

"I have already pointed out that regardless of safeguards, too much reliance on federal money would inevitably come to mean federal control."

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I have not changed my mind. That is the statement I made. We have to guard constantly, as I said when I made that statement, against federal control.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield?

Mr. BYRD. I cannot yield at the moment.

BALANCE OF POWER

Mr. TAFT. The balance of power is involved. I simply decided that the danger of federal control can be guarded against. We can stand on the principle of not permitting federal control. We have already established throughout the United States many avenues of federal aid to states, and there is no possibility of getting away from it in many fields. If we want to defend against federal control the thing to do is to refuse federal control, to draft our law so there is no federal control, as the pending bill is drafted. I would rather stand on that ground than stand on the ground suggested by the Senator that the federal government has no concern with education, has no concern with housing, has no concern with health; that those are matters solely for the states to take care of, and if there are poor states which are unable to give its citizens what they need, why that is too bad; those people cannot have equal opportunity. I do not think that is a defensible position. I think it is much easier and sounder to stand on the ground that we should provide federal aid, that we are interested in the people of the states, but that we will stand against any effort to extend federal control. That seems to me the proper position we should take respecting this bill and every other aid bill that comes before us.

Other bills have usually been so drafted that federal control could be easily exercised. We have here drafted a bill under which federal control cannot be exercised, and the only argument of the Senator from Virginia is that some future Congress may try to exercise federal control. Of course, some future Congress may try to exercise federal control. Future Congresses can do anything they want to do. They can refuse to stand on the ground on which we now propose to stand. But I think it would be a more defensible position for those opposed to federal control if they were to advocate the granting of aid without imposing federal control. If we do not grant aid to the states, and if the states therefore are weak, if they are unable to perform the functions they should perform, the time will come when we will have a complete federal operation in the various fields, as we did in the whole field of relief. I think we should now have a federal aid system for relief, for if we do not have it, and we have another unemployment crisis, I believe we will have another W.P.A. overnight. I think we should make the states strong, and then we will resist the impulse to impose federal control. I think the Senate in this bill has shown its willingness, contrary to many things it would like to do, to resist the movement toward federal control.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield to me so I may ask a question of the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. What puzzles me about the matter is this. Suppose we grant the money to the states under the bill, and suppose the commission of education in a state is utterly wasteful, utterly useless, and profligate to the utmost degree. Must the federal government then proceed and continue to give money to that state without attempting to exert any control over it whatsoever?

Mr. TAFT. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. BALDWIN. Then my next question is: Under such a program as that, have we a right to vote away the money of a state that is collected from the citizens of the state?

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Mr. TAFT. Yes; I think we have. I think we will have the right to say, for example, that we are collecting $45 million while the states are only able to collect $12 million, and we are going to give the states a lump-sum payment out of our taxes with which they can do anything they please. That is a possible alternative to federal aid. In that case it would simply mean that in order to run their governments they need more money than they can themselves secure. I see nothing wrong in that theory. This is a nation of 48 states. They are independent states. If we make such a grant to the states we should let the people of the states decide how to use it; and let them raise objections to any maladministration by their own state officials. If we want to, we can send a committee of Congress to investigate, and show the people of the states if any bad conditions exist. Then we will find that the people themselves will right such conditions.

Mr. BALDWIN, Mr. CHAVEZ, Mr. PEPPER, and Mr. LUCAS addressed the Chair.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I am going to yield to the Senators who are now on their feet; thereafter I desire to conclude what I have to say.

I yield first to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, my point was this: There is no question that the Congress has the legal right to do what the Senator suggests, but I question the wisdom of doing such a thing. Take our own particular case in the state of Connecticut. We will receive, under the terms of the bill, by virtue of the Ives amendment, $1,075,000, but we will collect from the people of the state of Connecticut $4,006,000. Do we have a right to do such a thing to the people of Connecticut and to the people of 32 other states in the Union? Do we have the right to say to them, "We are going to take your money and distribute it in other states, and we shall not do a thing respecting control of the expenditure to see whether the money shall be spent wisely, effectively, and properly?"

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut has recently voted for bills carrying some $6 billion for foreign nations, and it is perfectly obvious that the control over how that money shall be spent will be very remote. Yet that money comes out of the state of Connecticut, among other states. Instead of the state of Connecticut putting up $4 million, as the Senator just said, for education, Connecticut is probably going to put up a couple of hundred million dollars for foreign aid and that money is much more likely to be wasted, I will say to the Senator, than the money he is now going to vote under the pending bill to the states of the Union that are not so rich as is Connecticut.

* * *

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I wish to call particular attention to the percentages of increase for the five-year period 1940 to 1945, because this is very important. It strikes at the very crux of the matter, and is definite proof that the states are doing a great deal to improve their educational systems.

SOUTHERN STATES

I shall refer first to the southern states, because they seem to be the ones that will get most of the proposed federal appropriations. The figures I shall give now are correct, and cover the period from 1940 to 1945. I am sorry that I cannot give entirely up-to-date figures, because they would show that the percentage of increase was much greater.

For instance, the state of Alabama increased its appropriations from 1940 to 1945 by 57 per cent. It has increased the amount spent on each pupil by $20 in that five-year period.

The state of Arkansas—and I am sorry the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] is not now in the Chamber—has increased its appropriations for educational purposes 92 per cent in that five-year period, and has increased the amount spent on each pupil by $28.

The state of Florida has increased its appropriations by 62 per cent in that five-year period; the state of Georgia by almost 54 per cent; the state of Kentucky by 73 per cent—all in a period of five years ending in 1945; and since 1945 there have been still further large increases, although I do not have the figures before me.

In that five-year period the state of Louisiana has increased its appropriations for educational purposes by 68 per cent; Mississippi by 45 per cent; North Carolina, 68 per cent;

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Oklahoma, 53 per cent; South Carolina, 64 per cent; Texas, 55 per cent; Virginia, 74 per cent; and West Virginia, 46 per cent.

Mr. President, I think that is a notable and laudable record on the part of those states. Many of them are regarded as poor states. The state of Arkansas, if it is a poor state, has increased its appropriations for educational purposes by 92 per cent. The states are doing all in their power to improve their educational systems. I say that if we assume that education is a responsibility of the federal government, then when the states need additional money they will write to you and to me and to other Senators to try to get the money from the Federal Treasury, instead of trying to get it from local taxes, where it should come from.

Let me say just a word about the extravagance and efficiency of these aids to the states. Mr. President, what is a grant to a state? How can the federal government grant anything to a state? The federal government does not own any property. It has no property of its own. It only has the revenue which it collects from the citizens of the 48 states. We cannot get a gift from the federal government, because we are the federal government. When the money comes to Washington, where there are 1,154 bureaus, the bureaus take their toll from it, their 15 per cent, before they pay any money back to us. I ask any Senator to name any property that the federal government has, that produces any revenue. The federal government has only the revenue which comes from the 48 states of the union.

My distinguished friend, the Senator from Ohio, and other leading Republicans talk about the great bureaucracy that has been built in Washington, the greatest bureaucracy the world has ever known. Nothing has ever equaled it. There are 1,154 separate and distinct bureaus in Washington. There are 2 million government employees in those bureaus, and they are trying to find ways and means to manage the affairs of the states. Every single dollar that we give to be handled through the federal government adds to the bureaucracy in Washington. I think in the next campaign that will be a great issue. I think the Republicans will say there is in the federal government the greatest bureaucracy ever known, with 2 million employees, who are being paid in excess of $6 billion in salaries, and now it is proposed to add to that bureaucracy in order to do something the states are doing and can do themselves.

If the states were doing nothing for education, and had not made the great increases in their appropriations for education which I have cited, the situation would be different. Let me point out that if we had the figures for the increases in appropriations for education that the states themselves have made between 1945 and 1948, those figures would be much greater than the ones I have stated today. There is not one southern state that has not increased its appropriations and expenditures for schools by approximately 50 per cent in a period of five years. That is not a bad record. In the south we are making progress with this problem.

So I am unable to see how anyone can justify voting to federalize our public-school system—and I think it means that in the end—or voting to give the federal government influence, at least, in the control of our public-school system, when we are doing so much for ourselves.

Let me say a word in regard to the grants that now are being made to the states by the federal government. The federal government is granting to the states at this time $2,363,000,000 annually in eight different categories. I shall not take time to read all of them; but we already are giving the states more than $2 billion a year in various types of aid. Let me say once more—I said it in the first part of my address—that we are going to be faced, Mr. President, within the next two years with the most critical financial situation the United States has ever been confronted with. I make the confident prediction that within a two-year period we shall have a federal budget of $50 billion. I ask any Senator on this floor to tell me where federal taxes will come from with which to pay a federal budget of $50 billion. Then why should we undertake a new costly expenditure now?

We must rearm. All of us are in favor of that; I am strongly in favor of it. Instead of spending $1 billion, as we did on armaments before World War II, we shall have to spend $20 billion or perhaps $25 billion on rearmament. We are rearming just as if we were

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going to war again. I pray to God that we are not.

Then we have the interest on the public debt, which is $5 billion—far more than we had before the war.

We are permanently embarked upon a foreign-aid program. I say that advisedly. I say that foreign-aid program will continue as long as Russia is a menace, and Russia will be a menace either until she disarms or until she changes her form of government. I challenge any Senator to deny that. If Russia has the same form of government five years from now and if Russia has the same military preparedness five years from now, we shall have to increase the amount of foreign aid, rather than reduce it.

Mr. KEM. I know the Senator claims no gifts of prophecy; but I should like to ask him whether he feels that if this bill becomes law, he can look forward with confidence to the time when certain standards of minimum salaries in all the States will be enforced by a bureaucracy in Washington.

Mr. PEPPER. No, Mr. President; I make a distinction between federal aid to public schools and the support, for example, of the personnel of the states, counties, and municipalities to carry on the functions in those political subdivisions.

Mr. President, America cannot be strong unless it has a strong citizenship, and that strong citizenship must be distributed all over the nation. Therefore, the nation itself is vitally interested in every boy and girl, whether he be in one of the great metropolitan districts of the land or whether he be upon a bald mountainside or whether he be somewhere in the remote recesses of one of the agricultural areas of the nation. It is the nation's concern to see to it that the children of the nation are adequately equipped for the future and made strong, so that they can serve the country's security and progress.

Mr. KEM. I quite agree with the able Senator.

Mr. President, will the Senator further yield to me?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. KEM. I should like to ask the Senator whether he feels that the standards he has in mind will be self-enforcing?

Mr. PEPPER. They will not be self-enforcing. They will require the enlightened support of Members of Congress in order to make them meaningful, of course.

Mr. KEM. And they will require, will they not, administration by bureaucrats in Washington?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Missouri would not wish to discredit and disparage either the competence or the high purpose of the faithful men and women of our nation who, here in Washington and elsewhere throughout the country, are carrying on the important functions of our government.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, I do not wish to discredit their services to our Nation, but I do wish to say——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Florida yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. PEPPER. Will the Senator from Missouri permit me to yield at this time to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. KEM. Certainly.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, all I wish to say is that so far as I can judge, the administrative set-up in Washington required by this bill would not exceed three persons. So I do not think the general charges of bureaucracy would be justified. The only other group would be a field force of auditors to see to it that the schools were spending $50 per child.

* * *

Mr. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, Arkansas. In the state of Arkansas, at the outbreak of the war, the average preparation of teachers was 2.6 college years. This average had dropped to 1.9 years in 1943. From 1940 to 1945 the number of teachers employed dropped from 13,173 to 12,650, a total of 523 positions discontinued during the period of war. Some of this loss, of course, was attributable to shifting population, but in the main it was caused by inability to secure teachers for the salaries offered.

By 1945 over 50 percent of the prewar teaching staff of the state had left the profession.

To replace these lost teachers, the State

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Department of Education was compelled to accept applicants who could not meet normal requirements. Seventy-two per cent of the replacements were persons who had completed less than 12 semester hours of college work.

In a normal year, the schools of Arkansas need from 1,000 to 1,200 replacements for those who die, retire, or for other reasons leave the teaching profession. Yet in 1944, only 288 people were trained for teaching in Arkansas, and only 25 per cent of this number actually went into teaching.

The teacher shortage is so serious, not merely because there are fewer teachers, but because there are more children. From 1941 to 1946, about 13 million babies were born, as against population experts' predictions of 9 million. Last year this wartime birth rate made itself felt in the nation's schools. Even if the birth rate drops—and there is as yet no sign of it—enrollments in elementary schools will increase rapidly until 1950. By 1953 the high schools will feel the surge and must continue to expand until 1960.

And as always, the states with the smallest incomes had the most children in the population. In 1943, for each 1,000 people in the country as a whole, there were 216 children aged 5 to 17. Arkansas, which ranked forty-seventh in per capita income with about one-half the national figure, had 259 children per 1,000 population, while California, with the highest national income, had 172 per 1,000.

LACK OF MONEY

The prime reason for the teacher shortage is lack of money. Public school teachers from 1939 to 1946 suffered a 20 per cent loss in real wages.

Last year it was estimated that the national average salary paid to factory workers was $2,440. For teachers it was $2,100. The average salary paid to teachers in Arkansas was $1,450, which is about $300 less than the average industrial wage in the State.

Of course, the teacher shortage—the difficulty in securing and retaining competent teachers—is the most important shortcoming in the system.

But physical equipment has its importance too. Not only for its own sake, but also because it is one of the few things which, when adequate, encourages a person to make the sacrifice of entering the teaching profession. Good working conditions, including good buildings, cafeterias, classrooms, offices, and so forth, are necessary to the pupil for his own sake, and in order to make the teaching profession more attractive to those who would enter it.

Yet, of the 406,000 pupils attending school in Arkansas, 50 per cent are housed in poorly constructed, overcrowded classrooms because of lack of funds to provide adequate buildings.

Mr. Ralph B. Jones, state commissioner of education for the state of Arkansas, made the following statement to the Senate committee on April 22, 1947:

"Take my own state, for example, which is quite typical of many of the 48 comprising this nation. There we have a population of educable youth, by actual house-to-house enumeration, amounting to 446,000 between the ages of 6 and 17 years, inclusive. The total enrollment last year 1945-46, in all schools of all types and classes was 406,000, leaving 40,000 educable youth in one state alone who were not in any school of any kind during that year. This is ten per cent of our future social and economic productivity which must not only be written off as a total loss but, in addition, must be carried as dead weight by the other 90 per cent.

However, the picture darkens as we look a little further. The average in daily attendance for the same year was 332,000, leaving 118,000 who either were not in school at all or attended so irregularly as to gain very little, if any, benefit. That's 26 per cent of future productivity to be written off as loss."

Some states are rich, some poor, and to a large degree a child's education depends on the place where it is born.

In 1944 Arkansas ranked forty-seventh in average annual salaries paid teachers; in annual expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance, and forty-sixth in value of school property per pupil.

I do not want to leave the impression that Arkansas has failed to realize its responsibility as a state in the education of its children. According to the report of the committee on S. 472, the State of Arkansas, from 1941 to 1945, spent 1.92 per cent of its income for

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public elementary and secondary education, as against a national average of 1.87 per cent.

In 1946, and again in 1947, 2.3 per cent of the total income payments of people of the state of Arkansas was spent on public-school services. From 1937 to 1947 Arkansas increased its teachers' salaries from $534 to $1,450. From 1939-40 to 1944-45 Arkansas increased its expenditures for public education by 92.22 per cent, the second highest increase in the Nation, as against a national average of 42.37 per cent. In spite of this fact, however, at the end of that period, in 1944-45 the state of Arkansas ranked forty-fifth among the states in amount expended per child between the ages of 5 to 17.

* * *

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Education is the one factor of greatest importance in preserving peace, and I doubt if any institution or function of government is as important in terms of a nation's ability to wage war.

The President's Commission on Universal Training recognized this fact, I believe, when it listed, "A strong healthy, educated population" as the prime essential of an integrated national security program.

It is a rather strange commentary on our sense of values that so many people accept without alarm the proposal for universal military training, costing $2 billion or $3 billion, but balk at $3 billion for education. I think that unconsciously many people support the universal military training program because they know of the defects and shortcomings in our established public education system.

The war clearly disclosed the country's deficiency in education for national defense purposes. There are ten million illiterate people in the United States. The Selective Service turned down 676,000 young men for educational deficiency, comprising eight per cent of those examined. Three hundred and fifty thousand registrants under selective service signed their names with a mark.

These facts, however, by no means show the true importance of education to national defense manpower problems. There are no statistics to show the number of physical rejections occasioned by lack of education. How many of these were attributable to the lack of an elementary knowledge of hygiene as taught in public schools? How much money was spent and how much time was lost by the armed forces in training which an adequate school system could have provided?

Of course, these are merely the superficial aspects of the importance of education to the nation's war potential. The real importance cannot be measured in dollars nor in statistics. Nevertheless education, based upon a sound public-school system, is the very foundation for the conservation and development of our human resources. And, as materials are developed by the application of knowledge to natural resources, so is education the basis for production of goods for war and peace.

In this connection, I think it well to note that, according to Benjamin Fine, education editor of *The New York Times,* in 1946 while this country spent 1.5 per cent of its national income for education the Soviet Union averaged around eight per cent of its total income for education. That is a factor that all those who spend so much time berating communism should ponder over.

It is a strange thing to me that so many persons, and the same ones who are so strong in their condemnation of communism, at the same time see no merit in this bill and the program provided by it, which, I think would be clear to anyone, is the greatest defense against the spread of communism.

* * *

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I feel very strongly that the passage of the bill will mark the beginning of control of education by the federal government. I think the passage of the bill will lead to even larger appropriations in the future; that with those appropriations will go control which will do violence to the ancient and sacred traditions of this land with reference to the freedom of education.

No one will deny, Mr. President, that in a republic such as ours education is a first essential, and that every reasonable effort must be made to improve our educational system. However, to proceed upon the assumption that dollar expenditures per pupil alone are an adequate measure of the quality of education, and that federal grants to states are necessary, indeed indispensable, to finance a proper educa-

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tional system, is, in my opinion, unwarranted.

First, any exact relationship between school expenditures and the quantity and quality of education provided is yet to be proved. Indeed, there is ample evidence to indicate that in many cases haphazard school organization and inefficient school operations are a major contributing factor to costs which are in no way commensurate with the sort of education provided.

It is right here, Mr. President, that I feel that in the long run the principle of federal control of local education is going to be established. I do not believe that the Congress can honestly and fairly make substantial appropriations, as it proposes to do under the bill, and as it no doubt will increasingly do in the future, without saying to the states that this money must be effectively and efficiently and honestly spent. I do not think we should say to a state, "Here is money from the Federal Treasury. Go ahead and spend it in any way you see fit." I think that is an improper use of tax moneys collected from all the other states and indeed from the very state that may conduct its educational system in an effective fashion.

For that reason, Mr. President, I believe that as we proceed with federal grants to education, increasingly we are going to come to impose upon the states control over the manner in which that money is spent. That Mr. President, is the entering wedge, and a very wide entering wedge at its base to federal control of education.

For many years school authorities have insisted upon gaging educational achievement almost solely upon expenditures per pupil. Repeated questioning of this premise has yet to elicit any demonstrable proof that it is true, and the taxpayer has been expected to accept it blindly as an article of faith.

Secondly, experience in various states has shown the danger as well as the futility of approaching the problem of education from the standpoint of expenditures divorced from any standards of performance.

There, Mr. President, is where federal control is going to enter again, because sooner or later, as these appropriations increase, the federal government is bound to say to the states, "You must do this, you must do that; we must insist upon certain standards." That has in the past gone with every federal grant, and I think, of necessity, it must be so. It is the business of the Congress to see to it that federal funds expended by the states and in the states are expended honestly, fairly, and effectively. To do anything less is to shirk our duty in the important matter of the honest, fair, and effective expenditure of federal funds. Once we get into that field with education, we enter the field of the federal control of education, which we have never had in this land.

I am in hearty accord with what the distinguished junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] said a short time ago, that in every police state control is obtained by taking over two important functions of government on the part of the dictator. One is the function of education. That is made a matter of control at top. The other is, of course, control of the police organizations of the localities. I believe that there are two respects in which we must always keep away from federal control. One is in the field of education, and the other is the control of the local peace-enforcement agencies.

Experience with state grants points to the perpetuation of existing multiple districts and other standard conditions through federal grants if they are not coupled with mandatory standards.

Third, Senate bill 472 disclaims any intention of imposing federal control. However, if federal aid does not carry with it at least a provision for enforcing adequate standards with respect to efficient school administration, a dilemma is immediately created. For example, Connecticut does not desire federal control of its educational system. Yet Connecticut, as one of the states which would contribute heavily to a federal-aid program, cannot fairly be required to help subsidize education in other states without some assurance that such states have a real need for educational funds which they themselves are unable to provide—a real need in this case being a need which arises from inadequate resources, not merely from a dissipation of resources through unplanned and uneconomical administration. As I previously pointed out, when we enter that field we open the door to federal control of education.

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FORUM FEATURES

"The Three Crucial Issues of The Peace" is the first of a series of three articles by Raymond T. Bye. With his eye on the present welter of events, Mr. Bye takes a long, historical look at the peace, or what passes for peace. The second article will deal with the pressure of collectivism upon modern society and the third with the pressure of democracy.

Mr. Bye is a professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania, and is the author of *Capital Punishment in the United States, Principles of Economics, Applied Economics, Getting and Earning.*

The American Federation of Labor is abandoning its historic isolation from politics. Mark Starr, Educational Director of the I.L.G.W.U., one of the Federation's outstanding unions, traces the evolution of this unprecedented development.

During the war, Mr. Starr served as a labor consultant to the O.W.I. in Great Britain. He was a member of the United States delegation to the London Conference of U.N.E.S.C.O. in 1945 and a labor education consultant to S.C.A.P. in Japan in 1946. He is also the Chairman of the Queens County Liberal Party, New York.

Adolf Sturmthal analyzes the Communist coups in Europe and the way in which the Socialists have been undermined in "Marshall Plan Strategy." Mr. Sturmthal, an Austrian by birth, is now Professor of Economics at Bard College and a Consultant to the Columbia University Research Project on Contemporary Cultures. He is the author of *The Tragedy of European Labor.*

It is high time we introduced FORUM readers to the wider circle in which our theatre critic, John Gassner, is well known. Mr. Gassner is a member of the New York Drama Critics Circle and is Chairman of the Play Writing Department and the History of the Theatre at the Dramatic Workshop of the New School for Social Research. He is in charge of the selection and preparation of all plays presented by the Theatre Guild and is chairman of the play department of Columbia Pictures Corporation.

Among his recent books are: *Twenty Best Film Plays* (with Dudley Nichols), 1943; *Best Film Plays of 1943-44, 1945; Best Film Plays of 1945, 46; English Comedies,* 1945; *Comedies of Moliere,* 1945; *Spanish Drama,* 1947; *One Act Plays of the Social Theatre,* 1947; *Best Contemporary American Plays,* 1947; *Dramatic Prologues,* 1948.

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